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A COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of

One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

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CHARLES II.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK SEVENTH.

From the Reſtoration of CHARLES II. to the REVOLUTION.

CHARLES II. was in the thirtieth year of his age when he took poſſeſſion of the throne with thoſe advantages. He had taken pains in cultivating his underſtanding. He underſtood mechanics and ſhip-building; was well acquainted with the hiſtory and politics of the moſt remarkable ſtates in Europe; he poſſeſſed a natural fund of humour and vivacity, together with the moſt inſinuating addreſs, and the power of pleaſing in converſation. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careleſs, indolent, and extremely addicted to pleaſure. The people, partly in imitation of the king's jovial diſpoſition, and partly from the nature of the human mind, ſo apt to be hurried from one extreme to another, gave a looſe to intemperance, and the whole kingdom was filled with riot and exceſs. The firſt object that ingroſſed the attention of Charles after his reſtoration, was the choice of

A. C. 1660.

Promotions at court.

A. C. 1660 his council, into which (though it chiefly conſiſted of zealous royaliſts) he, from political views, admitted ſome chiefs of the preſbyterian party, ſuch as the earl of Mancheſter, appointed lord chamberlain; lord ſay, privy-ſeal; Anneſley created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, and Denzil Hollis preferred to the dignity of barons. The dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon Monk; and admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich. The king ſhifted the burden of affairs in a good meaſure from his own ſhoulders on thoſe of his brother the duke of York, who excelled Charles in application, as much as he fell ſhort of him in capacity. He was proud, vindictive, arbitrary, and bigoted to the Roman catholic religion, which he had embraced in his exile. The king himſelf is ſaid to have been a convert to that perſuaſion; though this was a circumſtance he carefully concealed; and indeed he ſeemed to laugh at all forms of religion. His firſt miniſter was Sir Edward Hyde, lately created earl of Clarendon, and high-chancellor of England, who had adhered to him in all his fortunes, was an upright and excellent judge; and ſerved him with equal integrity and attackment. He underſtood the temper and diſpoſition of the different parties, which he managed with diſcretion, though he ſeems to have been rather too inflexible with regard to the preſbyterians. His daughter Anne admitted the duke of York to the privilege of an huſband, on promiſe of marriage; and her pregnancy being the conſequence of their ſecret correſpondence, Charles inſiſted upon his performing his promiſe, rather than fix a ſtain upon the family of ſuch a faithful ſervant. He accordingly eſpouſed her, though not without reluctance; and this marriage was extremely diſagreeable to the queen-mother, who had been always averſe to the chancellor. The marquis of Ormond

Ormond was now created duke, and appointed lord-ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Southampton, high-treaſurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate. A. C. 1660.

The aſſembly of lords and commons was now called "The convention," until the king, on the third day after his arrival, went to the upper houſe; and, ſending for the commons, paſſed an act, by which it was declared a parliament. Then they proceeded on the bill of indemnity, which met with ſome obſtacles, in the lower houſe, on account of the clauſes to be inſerted. Some members propoſed to make examples of all thoſe who had remarkably exerted themſelves in favour of the late uſurpation, without paying any regard to the king's declaration from Breda. Many perſons imagined that this propoſal was dictated by Charles himſelf, actuated by the deſire of revenge; and divers libels were privately circulated, in order to inſpire the public with a diſtruſt of his ſincerity. With a view to diſſipate theſe ſuſpicions, the king ſent a meſſage to the parliament, preſſing them to diſpatch the act of indemnity, conformable to his declaration from Breda: and, in a few days, it was ſent to the lords for their concurrence. The commons had excepted from the benefit of this pardon a very few of the moſt notorious regicides; but the peers having received a number of petitions from the widows and orphans of thoſe who had been executed by ſentences of high-courts erected during the uſurpation, inſiſted upon excepting all who had ſat as judges on ſuch trials. Charles, fearing that this difference between the houſes might be productive of delay, repaired to the houſe of lords, and perſuaded them to paſs the bill, in a pathetic ſpeech; repreſenting that his honour was concerned; that he intended to except none but the immediate murderers of his father; and that Act of indemnity.

A. C. 1660. the tranquillity of the kingdom depended upon the performance of his promiſe. The lords, thus ſolicited, concurred with the commons in the material articles of the bill; but they would not conſent to a clauſe relating to nineteen of thoſe who ſat as judges on the late king. They had ſurrendered themſelves in conſequence of a proclamation, in which Charles declared, that none but ſuch as ſhould ſurrender themſelves within a certain time, could be intitled to his majeſty's mercy. The commons had inſerted a clauſe to deprive them of every thing but their lives; and the lords inſiſted upon their enjoying the full benefit of the indemnity, as they had manifeſted ſuch confidence in the king's clemency. After ſeveral conferences the two houſes agreed, that in caſe thoſe nineteen ſhould be condemned by the judges, the king ſhould reſpite them until the pleaſure of his majeſty and the parliament ſhould be more particularly known. At length the act paſſed, excepting nine and forty who had ſat in judgment upon their ſovereign.

Particular perſons excepted.

Oliver Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Pride, and one and twenty other members of that court, already dead, were confiſcated, and ſubjected to ſuch other penalties as the king and parliament ſhould think proper to inflict. Philips and Haſlerig underwent the ſame fate: Hutchinſon and Laſſels were condemned in a fine, and declared incapable of exerciſing any employment. Oliver St. John, and ſeventeen other perſons nominated in the act, were forbid to accept any civil, eccleſiaſtical, or military office, on pain of being deemed excepted from the benefit of the indemnity. All who had pronounced ſentence of death as judges during the uſurpation were declared incapable of being elected members of parliament, or of exerciſing any employment, excepting Ingoldſby and Tomlinſon. The firſt had been very inſtrumental in effecting the reſtoration,

tion, the other had been recommended to the favour of Charles in a meſſage from his father, who had been treated with great humanity by Tomlinſon; and even made a convert of that officer, by whom he was attended on the ſcaffold. Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert were likewiſe excepted from the act, though they had not been concerned in the king's murder. A. C. 1660.

When Charles gave his aſſent to this act, he paſſed another, confirming all the judiciary proceedings ſince the beginning of the civil war, notwithſtanding their illegality; a third for levying a capitation-tax to pay the fleet and army; a fourth fixing the intereſt of money at ſix per cent; and a fifth, ordaining that the anniverſary of his reſtoration ſhould be obſerved as a perpetual holiday. Charles took this opportunity to cajole the parliament with a flattering ſpeech, in which he hinted his own neceſſities. The commons preſented his two brothers with a ſum of money; and reſolved to ſettle the king's yearly revenue at the rate of twelve hundred thouſand pounds: but before they could ſettle the funds, he ordered them to adjourn to the ſixth day of November, after having paſſed an act for raiſing by a land-tax, within the ſpace of one month, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds to anſwer the preſent occaſions of his majeſty. They likewiſe continued for ſome time longer the tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, which they had impoſed in the beginning of the ſeſſion. At this juncture the duke of Glouceſter died of the ſmall pox, in the twentieth year of his age: he was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who ſeemed more afflicted by his death than by any other incident of his whole life. Liberality of the convention-parliament. Death of the duke of Glouceſter.

During the adjournment of parliament, Charles appointed commiſſioners to proceed upon the trials

A. C. 1660. of the regicides; the number of whom, including the officers of the court, and others immediately concerned in that tragedy, amounted originally to ninety. Of these, five and twenty were dead; nine and twenty had escaped from the kingdom; seven were deemed proper objects of the king's mercy; nine and twenty received sentence of death; but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleasure, because they had surrendered themselves according to the proclamation. The ten, devoted to immediate execution, were Harrison, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel. These were all enthusiasts, either millenarians or republicans; and bore their fate, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he had expired: his head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked, how he liked that work? Peters eyed him with disdain, saying, "You have butchered a servant "of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

The execution of the regicides.

After the parliament adjourned, the king had published a proclamation on the subject of religion, directing the bishops how to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction; ordaining that a certain number of theologists should be chosen to review and alter the liturgy; and that no person should, in the mean time, be obliged to conform. Nine of the old bishops, still living, were restored to their dioceses. Bishoprics and benefices were offered to the most distinguished presbyterian ministers; but they were refused by all except Reynolds, who became bishop of

of Norwich. In the month of October, the princeſs dowager of Orange arrived in London; and the king was afterwards viſited by his mother, accompanied by the princeſs Henrietta, and Edward prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. It was at this juncture, that the queen-mother propoſed the match between her daughter Henrietta and the duke of Orleans; to which Charles conſented without heſitation. A. C. 1660. Match between the princeſs Henrietta and the duke of Orleans.

The parliament, meeting on the ſixth day of November, ſent a ſolemn deputation to congratulate the queen upon her happy return; and the commons preſented ten thouſand pounds to each of her daughters: then they took meaſures for enabling the king to diſband the army, which was gradually reduced; Charles reſerving only a regiment of horſe, and another of infantry, as a guard to his perſon. It ſettling the king's revenue, the commons aboliſhed the court of wards and liveries, in lieu of which he received one hundred thouſand pounds a year, ariſing from one half of the exciſe, eſtabliſhed as a fund in perpetuity for that purpoſe; and the other half of the exciſe, together with the duty of tonnage and poundage, were granted to the king for his life. This affair being diſpatched, the parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the ſtreets to Tyburn, where they continued hanging a whole day, and then were interred under the gallows. On a vague report of a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king and queen-mother, Deſborough, Overton, Morgan, and ſome other officers were taken into cuſtody; but upon inquiry, the report was found to be without foundation. On the twenty-ninth day of December, the king, going to the houſe of peers, thanked the two houſes for their affection, in the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude:

A. C. 1660. titude: the chancellor expatiated on the ſame ſubject, and then his majeſty diſſolved the parliament.

The king diſſolves the convention-parliament.

The earl of Clarendon, in his ſpeech, touched upon the militia; ſaying, he wiſhed they had found time to ſettle it to the mutual ſatisfaction of king and people: he likewiſe mentioned a conſpiracy for ſurpriſing Windſor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London. He affirmed, that many diſbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this deſign; and that they had planned an inſurrection in the Weſt, to be headed by general Ludlow.

A. C. 1661. In the beginning of January, while the king accompanied his mother to Dover, one Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, and fifth-monarchy-man, appeared in the ſtreets of London at the head of threeſcore fanatics completely armed, and proclaimed king Jeſus. They ſlew a man becauſe he declared himſelf for God and king Charles. They believed themſelves invulnerable, made a deſperate reſiſtance againſt a body of the trained-bands ſent to diſperſe them, and retreated to Kane-wood near Hampſtead. Being diſlodged from thence in the morning by a detachment of ſoldiers, they returned to London, and took poſſeſſion of a houſe, in which they defended themſelves againſt a body of troops, until the majority was killed. The few ſurvivors were taken, tried, condemned, and executed; and affirmed to the laſt, that if they had been deceived, the Lord himſelf was their deceiver. The king uſed great expedition in diſſolving the convention-parliament, becauſe a great number of preſbyterians had been returned among the commons, and they were a check on the condeſcending temper of the other members. They had granted the ſupplies ſcantily, and with the appearance of diſtruſt; they were averſe to the king's being veſted with the whole power of the militia; nor would they have tamely ſuffered the biſhops to reſume their

Inſurrection by Venner.

Kennet. Burnet. Ludlow. Ralph.

ſeats

ſeats in parliament. This mad attempt was looked upon as a confirmation of the conſpiracy; and it furniſhed the miniſtry with a handle to publiſh a proclamation againſt all religious conventicles, ordaining that the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy ſhould be exacted from all perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government: ſo that the preſbyterians were confounded with the enemies of the ſtate, under the general appellation of diſſenters. A. C. 1662.

The king had not been long reſtored when he converted his attention to the affairs of Scotland. Some members of the council propoſed, that the Scots ſhould be retained in ſubjection by means of a ſtanding army and the forts which had been erected from one end of the kingdom to the other. The earl of Lauderdale, who had been taken at the battle of Worceſter, and continued a priſoner from that event to the reſtoration, was now admitted to the council, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this propoſition. He obſerved that the Scots had been reduced to ſlavery, in conſequence of the efforts they made in behalf of his majeſty; and though they were not mentioned in the declaration from Breda, the king could not, without incurring the imputation of ingratitude, allow them to remain in a ſtate of miſery and oppreſſion. He ſaid they were ſo humbled, that they would comply with any terms of ſubmiſſion to the crown, provided their independency ſhould be reſtored: that the attachment of the Scots to their native prince was very warm, and would be a great reſource againſt the turbulent ſpirit of the Engliſh. Charles was ſatisfied with theſe arguments. He ordered the troops in Scotland to be diſbanded, the forts to be razed, the Engliſh judges in that country to diſcontinue their functions, and a convention of the eſtates to be aſſembled. Thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their loyalty, were nominated to the great offices Affairs of Scotland.

A. C. 1661. of the ſtate. He appointed the earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the earl of Crawford, treaſurer; the earl of Caſſils, lord juſtice-general; the earl of Lauderdale, ſecretary of ſtate; and Middleton, now created an earl, was ſent down to repreſent his majeſty in the office of lord high-commiſſioner. At the ſame time the council determined to intimidate that nation by ſome examples of ſeverity. The marquis of Argyle had made a journey to London, in hope of being admitted to pay his reſpects to the king in perſon: but he was arreſted at Whitehall, committed to the Tower, and afterwards ſent down to Scotland to be tried for high treaſon. The other victim devoted to death was one Guthry, a ſour pedantic preſbyterian miniſter, who had taken indecent freedoms with the king, while he reſided among that people *.

Conference of divines at the Savoy.

Some preſbyterian miniſters finding themſelves confounded with other ſectaries whom they abhorred, intreated the king to give order for a conference between them and the biſhops, that both ſides might candidly examine their objections to the Engliſh liturgy. Charles complied with their requeſt: one and twenty eccleſiaſtics were nominated on each ſide, and the conferences were begun in the houſe of the biſhop of London, who lived in the Savoy. The biſhops would not offer ſuch an indignity to the church as to make the leaſt conceſſion to this ſtubborn ſect; and the preſbyterians exclaimed againſt the liturgy, and the ſurplice, as relics of the church of Rome. After obſtinate diſpute and virulent altercation, they

* The king appointed the earls of Orrery and Montrath, in conjunction with Sir Maurice Euſtace, chancellor of Ireland, to govern that kingdom as juſtices, until he ſhould have leiſure to name a lord lieutenant.

In the courſe of this year, Charles, by his letters patent, eſtabliſhed the royal ſociety, for the improvement of mechanics, mathematics, and natural philoſophy.

parted

parted more than ever irritated againſt each other. On the twenty-third day of April, being the feſtival of St. George, the king's coronation was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. A. C. 1661.

Writs had been iſſued for a new parliament to meet on the eighth day of May; and the court had influenced the elections ſo ſucceſsfully, that the majority of the members returned were ſtrongly attached to the hierarchy and the royal prerogative. The king, in his firſt ſpeech to both houſes, recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity, and made them acquainted with his intention to eſpouſe the infanta of Portugal, a match already concluded, with the advice of his council. Sir Edward Turner, ſolicitor-general to the duke of York, being choſen ſpeaker, the two houſes voted that thanks ſhould be returned to his majeſty, for this inſtance of his confidence, in communicating his purpoſed marriage to his parliament; and that they ſhould go in a body and congratulate him upon that event. Then they ordered, that upon a certain day every member ſhould receive the communion, according to the liturgy of the Engliſh church, on pain of being expelled. They afterwards ordained, that the ſolemn league and covenant, the acts for erecting the high court of juſtice to try the late king, for ſubſcribing the engagement againſt a king and houſe of lords, for declaring England a commonwealth, for renouncing the title of his preſent majeſty, and for the ſafety of the lord protector, ſhould be burned by the hands of the common executioner. Zeal and loyalty of the new parliament.

The republicans thinking themſelves inſecure from the zeal of this parliament, petitioned the king that the act of indemnity might be confirmed; and he wrote to the two houſes for this purpoſe, giving them to underſtand that this ſhould be the firſt bill he would paſs. They forthwith complied They paſs an extraordinary act for the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government.

A. C. 1661. complied with his desire; and on the tenth day of June, he gave his assent to an act to confirm the act of indemnity passed in the preceding parliament; and to another, authorising the king to receive a free and voluntary contribution from his subjects. The next business on which the commons proceeded, was a bill for confiscating the estates of the regicides who were dead; and for the punishment of lord Monson, Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, who, though the king spared their lives, were reserved for other pains and penalties. In consequence of this act, they were dragged on a hurdle to Tyburn, with ropes about their necks, and then doomed to perpetual imprisonment. This complaisant parliament, in an act for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, extended the penalties of high-treason to all who should devise the death of the king, or any injury to his person; who should plot to arrest, imprison, depose, or wage war against him; who should instigate any foreign power to invade his dominions, or manifest this evil intention by word or writing. They decreed, that whoever should affirm the king was a papist or heretic, or excite the hatred of the people against his government or person, should be rendered incapable of exercising any employment in church or state. They annulled the act for excluding bishops from the house of lords; they declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone; and they empowered him to dispose of the land-forces. He thanked them for these marks of their confidence and affection; and having passed the bills, ordered them to adjourn till the twentieth day of November. The convocation which sat during this session, did nothing of any consequence, but grant a benevolence to his majesty, according to the act passed for that purpose.

Rapin. Ralph.

In

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL Earl & Marquiſs of ARGYLL.

In Scotland the tide of loyalty ran with extraordinary violence. The parliament of that kingdom carried their complaiſance to ſuch extravagance, as to annul by a reſciſſory act all the laws that had paſſed ſince the beginning of their diſputes with the late king: ſo that epiſcopacy was of courſe reſtored. They declared the covenant unlawful, and voted an additional revenue to the king, of forty thouſand pounds, to be levied by way of exciſe for the maintenance of a ſmall force, which might prevent future diſturbances. The marquis of Argyle was tried for his compliance with the late uſurpation; and made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the parliament, though bent upon his deſtruction, muſt have acquitted him of the charge, had not the commiſſioner produced letters which he had written to Monk, while he commanded in Scotland, expreſſing his hearty concurrence with the government at that time eſtabliſhed. Being thus baſely betrayed by his former friend, he was found guilty, and condemned to loſe his head, which was ordered to be fixed upon the place from whence the head of Montroſe had been lately taken down, and ſolemnly interred with the other parts of his body. The marquis behaved at his execution with great compoſure; declared himſelf innocent of the late king's death; exhorted the people to adhere to the covenant, which he called the work of God, and died in peace with all mankind. Guthry confeſſed all that was laid to his charge, and ſeemed to glory in his ſufferings. On the ladder, he made a kind of ſermon to the people, in which he juſtified all he had done, and extolled the covenant as the moſt meritorious obligation. Sir Archibald Johnſton of Warriſton, who had been one of Cromwell's lords, was now attainted; but eſcaped into France, where he was afterwards ſeized, brought over, and executed. Sharp, who had been agent for the Scottiſh

A. C. 1661.

Extravagant condeſcenſions of the Scottiſh parliament.

A. C. 1661. Scottiſh preſbyterians, now deſerted his party, and being conſecrated by the biſhop of London, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Hamilton, Fairfoul, and Leighton, received the ſame conſecration, and were appointed to different ſees in Scotland. They obtained from the king a declaration re-eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy in that kingdom. The council ſuppreſſed all ſynods and preſbyteries, but ſuch as ſhould be authorized by the biſhops. The parliament confirmed this reſtoration; prohibited all ſorts of conventicles; re-eſtabliſhed the right of patronage; and ordained that all perſons in public employments ſhould not only renounce the two covenants, but alſo declare in writing, that it was unlawful for ſubjects, on any pretence whatſoever, to engage in ſuch aſſociations, or to take arms againſt their ſovereign,

Burnet. Rapin.

Rumours of plots.

In England the cavaliers loudly complained of the king's ingratitude, in neglecting and leaving them to ſtarve, while their perſecutors, by the act of indemnity, enjoyed the immenſe wealth they had acquired by the moſt unlawful methods. The miniſtry, on the other hand, filled the city with rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the king and government. Their aim was partly to amuſe the public, and partly to animate the people and parliament againſt the nonconformiſts, who were ſaid to be the authors of all thoſe combinations. The king himſelf, the members of both houſes, and eſpecially the earl of Clarendon, hated the preſbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to humble them, under the general term of Nonconformiſts. The parliament meeting in November, petitioned the king to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and ſoldiers to retire to the diſtance of twenty miles from London: then the commons voted twelve hundred thouſand pounds for his majeſty's preſent occaſions.

The

The earl of Clarendon, in a conference between the two houſes, poſitively affirmed that a conſpiracy had been formed ſince the month of March, to interrupt the peace of the nation. He named ſeveral perſons concerned in this plot, the particular circumſtances of which he explained; and ſaid, that although it had been defeated at London, by the precaution taken with regard to the diſbanded officers and ſoldiers, it would, nevertheleſs, be proſecuted in different counties of England. The two houſes immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, that meaſures might be taken to ſecure the peace of the kingdom. This pretended diſcovery was the foundation of the corporation-act, which was now paſſed in parliament, ordaining all mayors, aldermen, counſellors, or officers of corporations, to take an oath, importing, that they did not think it lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms againſt the king; and that they abhorred the deteſtable maxim of arming againſt the king's perſon, under the ſhadow of his authority; or even of oppoſing ſuch as acted by virtue of his commiſſion. This was a moſt ſcandalous conceſſion, by which the liberties of England were left at the mercy of regal power. The committee of both houſes proceeded on their inquiry into the nature of the conſpiracy; and the earl of Clarendon made an alarming report of a deſign to ſurpriſe Shrewſbury, Coventry, and Briſtol: but this plot ſeems to have been no other than a fiction of the miniſtry, to pave the way for the act of uniformity; for that was no ſooner paſſed than the inquiry was laid aſide.

A. C. 1661.

Corporation-act.

On the firſt day of March, the king ſending for the commons to Whitehall, gently reproached them for the little care they had taken to ſettle his revenue; mentioned a republican party that ſtill ſubſiſted in the kingdom; expreſſed uncommon zeal

The king paſſes the act of uniformity.

A. C. 1662. for the church of England; gave them to understand that he had sent the book of Common-prayer to the lords, with his approbation of some changes which the convocation had thought proper to make in it, that it might be more suitable to an act of uniformity, which he desired the lower house would prepare, without passion or precipitation The commons were resolved to manifest their obedience in every particular. They brought in a bill to prosecute the quakers for refusing to take oaths in courts of judicature. On the nineteenth of May, the king gave his assent to the act for establishing uniformity in public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments. By this statute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day, every minister was obliged to conform to the worship of the English church, according to the book of Common-prayer lately revised, and to sign a declaration approving of that ritual; to take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and acknowledge his detestation of the principle of taking up arms against the king, or those acting by his commission, on any pretence whatsoever. He was likewise restrained from administring the sacraments, unless he had been previously ordained by a bishop. By an act regulating the militia, all lords lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with officers and soldiers, were obliged to declare, upon oath, that they held it unlawful to take arms against the king, or those acting by his commission. As another instance of the parliament's devotion to the king, the commons voted an annul tax of two shillings upon every hearth, to his majesty and his successors: this imposition, joined to the tonnage and poundage, the excise, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater sum than had ever been paid to any of his predecessors.

On

On the twenty-first day of May, the king's marriage with Catharine, Infanta of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. Though a virtuous princess, she possessed no personal attractions; but Charles was captivated by her portion, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies. Notwithstanding all these supplies, the king dealt out his treasure with such a lavish hand, that his coffers were quickly exhausted; and he was obliged to devise extraordinary means to recruit his finances. His difficulties were considerably increased by the expence of maintaining Dunkirk; and therefore he resolved to sell it for a sum of money to the French ministry. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous ministers, were both concerned in this transaction; but, in all probability, the expedient was first proposed by Charles himself. The chancellor invited D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, to come over to London, where he managed this negotiation; and the French king purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for the consideration of four hundred thousand pounds.

A. C. 1662. The king's marriage. Sale of Dunkirk.

While this affair was in agitation, Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three of the regicides, who had escaped to the continent, were discovered, and arrested in Holland by Downing the English resident at the Hague, who had formerly served the commonwealth, and been chaplain to the regiment commanded by Okey. He now seized and conveyed them on board of an English ship, without giving them time to claim the protection of the States; and they were executed at Tyburn, where they behaved with equal moderation and decorum. Their trial was soon followed by that of Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been excepted

Execution of Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey.

A. C. 1662. from the act of indemnity, as principal authors of the troubles, though they were not in the number of thoſe who ſat in judgment upon the king. Their execution had been ſuſpended, at the interceſſion of the convention-parliament; but this, out of its great zeal, petitioned for their trial. Vane was indicted for his conduct after the king's death: and defended himſelf with great ability. He ſaid, that he had acted in obedience to an eſtabliſhed authority; and if an acknowledgment of that authority was criminal, the whole nation was guilty: he pleaded the ſtatute of the ſeventh Henry, enacting, That no man ſhould be queſtioned for adhering to the eſtabliſhed prince: he diſclaimed all the cruelties that had been practiſed upon the parliament and the king: he reminded them of the perſecution he had undergone for oppoſing the uſurpation of Cromwell; and obſerved, that altho' he could have eſcaped from his enemies, at the reſtoration, he choſe rather to ſtay, and give teſtimony with his blood, to the cauſe of liberty which he had eſpouſed. The law was ſtrained for his conviction; and he fell, in all probability, a ſacrifice to the manes of the earl of Strafford, againſt whom he had acted with the moſt rancorous enmity. Though naturally fearful, he was ſo animated by his enthuſiaſm, as to bear his fate with fortitude and compoſure. When he was brought to the ſcaffold to ſuffer decapitation, he ſpoke to the multitude in juſtification of the cauſe in which he had embarked; but he was ſilenced by the noiſe of drums and trumpets. Lambert was likewiſe found guilty and condemned; but, in conſequence of his ſubmiſſive behaviour at his trial, he obtained a reprieve, and was confined to the iſland of Guernſey, where he lived twenty years in oblivion.

Two thouſand preſbyterian miniſters reſign their livings.

When the act of uniformity took place, ſo contrary to the king's declaration from Breda, and ſo much

much to the dishonour of Charles, two thousand A. C. 1662.
presbyterian ministers chose rather to resign their benefices, and embrace beggary, than subscribe the articles. They thought that the bishops would not venture to expel such a number of popular preachers; and that the king, who was indifferent to all forms of religion, would not suffer his promise to be violated, on account of any religious dispute. Charles was wholly passive on this occasion. He did, indeed, hate the manners of the presbyterians; but he was now directed by the earl of Clarendon, who thought it reasonable that the church should be purged of those intruders, who had deformed her beauties, persecuted her ministers, and taken possession of her wealth. In order to mitigate in some measure the severity of this act, the king issued a declaration, promising to use his influence with the parliament, to concur in passing a law by which he might be enabled more fully to exert his dispensing power in favour of those who, from conscientious motives, could not comply with the act of uniformity. This was intended as a preliminary to a general toleration, the benefit of which might extend to the catholics, to whom the king had a secret propensity. They had supported the rights of the crown during the late troubles. There was a splendor and magnificence in their mode of worship that captivated the fancy of Charles. The importunities of his mother, and the persuasions of those with whom he lived in exile, are said to have prevailed upon him to embrace that religion; and his brother the duke of York, who had great influence over his conduct, was superstitiously addicted to popery.

The commissioners appointed by parliament to see the corporation-act put in execution, used their authority with such rigour, that there was not an officer left in any community, who did not warmly

A.C. 1662. eſpouſe the principles of the parliament. They moreover demoliſhed the walls of Glouceſter, Coventry, Northampton, and Leiceſter, becauſe theſe places in the civil war had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal againſt monarchy. About the latter end of the year, ſix fanatics were executed for having engaged in a conſpiracy to murder the king, his brother, the duke of Albemarle, and to ſurpriſe the Tower of London and the caſtle of Windſor. Though no perſon of conſequence was concerned in this deſign, it was repreſented as a very ſerious affair by the miniſtry, who pretended that Ludlow, and all the republican officers, were ready to appear in open rebellion. Ludlow had made his eſcape into Switzerland immediately after the reſtoration; and there he lived without making the leaſt attempt to retrieve the fortune of himſelf and his aſſociates. In the courſe of this year, admiral Lawſon ſailing with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Barbary, compelled the dey of Algiers to conclude a peace with England: then the king made Tangier a free-port, and favoured it with particular privileges.

Six fanatics executed for a conſpiracy.

Burnet. Rapin. Ralph. Hume.

The preſbyterians thinking themſelves unjuſtly oppreſſed, petitioned the king and council, that they might be exempted from the penalties ſpecified in the act of uniformity; and his majeſty publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that although he adhered with all his heart to that act; nevertheleſs, out of regard to ſome of his ſubjects, he was willing to diſpenſe with their obſerving certain articles therein contained. This indulgence was planned on purpoſe to favour the catholics, and therefore tranſacted without the privity and concurrence of the chancellor, whoſe credit with the king now began to decline. He was a violent enemy to the papiſts, and therefore hated by the queen-mother, the duke of York, and the earl of Briſtol,

A.C. 1663.

BENNET Earl of *ARLINGTON.*

Briſtol, who had turned Roman-catholic during his exile. He now employed all his wit, humour, and vivacity, in ridiculing the earl of Clarendon, and rendering that faithful miniſter diſagreeable in the eyes of his ſovereign. The chancellor was likewiſe deteſted by Mrs. Palmer, the king's favourite concubine, who was afterwards created dutcheſs of Cleveland. She was a woman abandoned by every ſentiment of virtue and decorum; proud, revengeful, profligate, and rapacious. Clarendon diſdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her avarice; therefore all her influence upon Charles was uſed to his prejudice. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's intimate friend, was deprived of his office, which the king conferred upon his profeſſed enemy Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papiſt, who was afterwards created lord Arlington.

A. C. 1663.

Clarendon's credit begins to decline.

Charles has left very few inſtances of his gratitude upon record. He granted penſions to the Pendrells, to Mrs. Lane, and ſome other perſons, who had contributed to his preſervation after the battle of Worceſter; but he neglected the poor cavaliers who had been ruined by their zeal for him and his father's houſe. A ſum of money had been once raiſed by the parliament for their relief; but this was by no means proportioned to their merits and neceſſities. Charles was ſo prodigal in the articles of his common expence, that he could not ſupply them from his own revenue; and he found it convenient to employ another ſort of people, whoſe affection it was neceſſary to conciliate: ſo that the unfortunate royaliſts being diſappointed in their ſanguine hopes, loudly complained of his ingratitude; but he fled from their clamours to ſcenes of mirth, jollity, and ſenſual pleaſure.

Charles not remarkable for his gratitude.

The commons, alarmed at the declaration for indulgence, in which the king aſſumed a diſpenſing power,

The parliament's averſion to an indulgence in matters of religion.

A. C. 1663. power, and that too, in order to weaken the force of the law which they had enacted, presented an address, in which they took the liberty to differ in opinion from his majesty, touching the performance of his promise at Breda. They alledged, that this was no more than a gracious declaration, that he would exert his influence with the parliament in favour of tender consciences: they observed, that as the parliament did not think proper to advise or countenance such indulgence, his majesty was acquitted of all obligation towards nonconformists. They enumerated the inconveniences which might arise from a toleration; and proposed, as the most effectual method to prevent schisms, troubles, and divisions, that the laws should be executed for the support of the established religion, according to the act of uniformity. Charles, finding his designs so disagreeable to the commons, thought proper to postpone it to a more favourable opportunity; but the two houses petitioned him, in another address, to issue a proclamation, commanding all Roman catholic priests and jesuits to quit the kingdom, except such as were in the service of the two queens, or belonged to foreign ambassadors. The king assured them of his zeal for the protestant religion; and the proclamation was published, though it produced very little effect.

Clarendon impeached by the earl of Bristol.

While the commons were employed in settling the funds for the king's revenue, Charles being reduced to great necessity, assembled them in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude, and the warmest affection, begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his pathetic address; and therefore granted him four entire subsidies. And the convocation of the clergy followed their example. Although the king's

king's affection was by this time in a great measure alienated from the earl of Clarendon, he could not forget his faithful services and attachment; and therefore that nobleman still retained his office and a certain degree of favour: so that the catholic party began to fear he would retrieve the credit he had lost. This consideration, in all probability, induced the earl of Bristol to impeach the chancellor of high-treason. In this strange inconsistent charge, he was accused of having endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king: of having promised to use his influence in abolishing the penal laws against papists: of having consented to some articles disgraceful to the protestant religion, in the treaty for the king's marriage: of having scandalized his majesty: advised the sale of Dunkirk: reviled both houses of parliament: enriched himself by selling employments; and embezzled the public money. This impeachment appeared so void of all foundation and probability, that it was rejected by the lords; and the earl of Bristol was so much ashamed of his conduct, that for some time he did not appear in public. A. C. 1663.

In this session the commons granted to the duke of York, the profits arising from the post and wine-licence offices: so that he was enabled to keep a separate court, and live altogether independent of his brother. The parliament being prorogued to the sixteenth day of March, the king and queen made a progress into the western counties; and were entertained with great magnificence by the university of Oxford. During their absence from London, the ministry discovered another conspiracy formed by the independents and republicans, to surprise several towns in the North, and excite a general insurrection: it was an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics and disbanded soldiers; thirty of whom were taken and executed. The king Kennet. Echard. Conspiracy of the independents.

A. C. 1663. king made a handle of this despicable attempt, to demand, in his speech, at the next meeting of the two houses, that the act for triennial parliaments should be repealed; and they complied with his request, in consequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles from the suggestions of a set of men, who pretended that this parliament was dissolved by virtue of that act; and arrogated to themselves the right of meeting for a new election.

A. C. 1664. In the month of April, the commons having examined the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, That the wrongs, affronts, and indignities, offered by the Dutch, in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, to the subjects of England, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation: That his majesty should be intreated to procure reparation for these wrongs, and take measures for preventing such injuries for the future; for which purposes the two houses would assist him to their utmost power against all opposers. This was the prelude of a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined. Nothing more frivolous could be assigned for engaging in this enterprize. In specifying particulars, the Dutch were charged with having taken two English ships in the East-Indies; but they alledged, that those ships had been employed in carrying on an illicit commerce, and the states had actually deposited a sum of money exceeding the value of them, until the English court of admiralty could determine the merit of the cause. The war owed its origin to other motives. Charles, whose prodigality kept him always necessitous, foresaw that he should be able to convert to his private use part of the supplies granted for the maintenance of the war: he delighted in ship-building; and was ambitious of equipping a navy that should give law to all the maritime

The king's motives for a war with the Dutch.

maritime ſtates in Europe: his brother longed for an opportunity to ſignalize his courage and power as high-admiral, againſt a people he hated, not only for the republican principles, but alſo as one of the chief bulwarks of the proteſtant religion: the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as the moſt dangerous rivals in commerce; and the royal African company, in particular, had been thwarted by the Dutch in fixing their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guiney. A. C. 1664.

The two houſes having preſented an addreſs to the king on the ſubject of their vote, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this inſtance of their zeal for the advancement of commerce; ſaid, he would examine the particular complaints which had been made againſt the ſubjects of the ſtates-general, and order his miniſter at the Hague to demand immediate reparation. Inſtructions were ſent to Downing for this purpoſe; but, in the mean time, the duke of York, as governor of the royal African company, ſent Sir Robert Holmes with a ſquadron to diſtreſs the Dutch ſettlements on the coaſt of Guiney. He drove them from Cape de Verd; built a fort at the mouth of the river Gambia; made himſelf maſter of Cape-corſe caſtle, and took a great number of their trading veſſels. From thence he ſailed to America, and took poſſeſſion of Nova Belgia, which changed its name to that of New-York. At this very juncture, admiral de Ruyter and Sir John Lawſon had ſailed with combined ſquadrons againſt the corſairs of Algiers. The ſtates were no ſooner informed of the hoſtilities committed upon their ſubjects by Holmes, than they diſpatched private orders to De Ruyter, importing, that he ſhould ſail to the coaſt of Guiney, and make repriſals on the Engliſh. He accordingly undertook the voyage, re-eſtabliſhed the Dutch in

Hoſtilities between the Engliſh and the Dutch on the coaſt of Guiney.

A. C. 1664. in all their poſſeſſions, expelled the Engliſh from ſome of their old ſettlements, and made prize of all the ſhips that fell into his hands. Then he ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, where he was repulſed in an attack upon Barbadoes; and afterwards made attempts upon ſome of the Engliſh colonies in North America.

The States-general ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to London.

Downing, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, preſented a memorial to the ſtates, demanding ſatisfaction for the damages done to the Engliſh, which, he ſaid, amounted to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand pounds; and they being willing to avoid a war, ſent over Van Goch, as an ambaſſador-extraordinary to London, to compromiſe the differences between the two nations. When he complained of the hoſtilities committed by Holmes, Charles pretended this was a private difference between two companies, of which he would not pretend to take cognizance; and he excuſed his having prohibited the importation of merchandize from Holland, on account of the plague, which had been introduced into that country. Nevertheleſs, he continued to make preparations for war with ſurpriſing induſtry. He borrowed one hundred thouſand pounds of the citizens of London, who were pleaſed with the proſpect of a war that threatened deſtruction to their rivals; and he viſited all the docks in perſon, that his preſence might quicken the diligence of the workmen. In the month of November, the duke of York ſet ſail with a ſquadron, and falling in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips, took one hundred and thirty veſſels, which were detained as lawful prize, tho' war was not yet declared. The French king offered his mediation, which was accepted by the States-general: but Charles refuſed to enter into any negotiation, until he ſhould have received entire ſatisfaction

faction for the losses and insults which his subjects had sustained. A. C. 1664.

The parliament, before its last prorogation, had passed an act against conventicles, ordaining that every person convicted of having been present at a religious meeting of dissenters, should be fined in five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third be transported to the plantations: by this law the presbyterians were excluded from all benefit of the declaration from Breda. When the two houses met on the twenty-fourth day of November, the king gave them to understand, that upon his own credit he had equipped the strongest fleet that ever England owned; and that as he had expended eight hundred thousand pounds on this armament, he hoped the commons would indulge him with proportionable supplies. He said the states had, by numberless artifices, eluded every reasonable proposal for a pacification; and he assured them, that, should he be compelled to engage in hostilities, he would never listen to any overtures of peace, until after having obtained those ends for which the war should be undertaken. The commons were so well disposed to concur with his desires, that they forthwith voted a supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of this just and necessary war: and then Charles issued a declaration, enjoining all his subjects to make reprisals on the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the States-general. Mean while the Dutch did not neglect to put themselves in a posture of defence. When the news of De Ruyter's progress on the coast of Guiney, end in the West-Indies, arrived in England, the king published a solemn declaration of war against the United Provinces, with the unanimous consent of all the privy-counsellors, except the earls of Southampton and Clarendon, who

The commons vote very large supply for defraying the expence of the fleet.

Burnet. Rapin. Ralph.

The king declares war against Holland.

A.C. 1664. who had oppoſed this rupture from the beginning of the diſputes †.

Lewis XIV. being importuned by the Dutch to declare againſt England, in conſequence of the laſt treaty which he had concluded with the States-general, and ſolicited by Charles to obſerve a neutrality, was for ſome time divided in his ſentiments. He was loth to diſoblige Charles, leſt he ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of Spain, whither he had lately ſent an embaſſy: and, on the other hand, it was his intereſt to ſupport De Wit and the Loveſtein party in Holland againſt the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the aſſiſtance of his uncle the king of England. In order to gain time, he ſent the duke de Vernueil, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to London, with offers of mediating a peace between England and the United Provinces; and there they continued till the latter end of the ſucceeding year, though their endeavours did not meet with ſucceſs. The duke of York putting to ſea in the month of May, before the Dutch fleet was aſſembled, ſailed towards the coaſt of Holland, and cruiſed near the Texel fifteen days, during which he took a great number of their ſhips homeward-bound; then he retired to Harwich road. After his departure, the fleets of Holland and Zealand joined, to the number of one hundred and twenty-one, excluſive of fireſhips, under the command of admiral Opdam, Cortenaer, Evertzen, and Cornelius Van Tromp, ſon of the celebrated Martin Van Tromp, who loſt his life in the late war. This armament was fitted out by the advice, vigilance, and activity of John De

A ſolemn embaſſy arrives from France.

† The parliament was prorogued to Auguſt, and afterwards to October. In this ſeſſion, the clergy reſigned the right of taxing themſelves in convocation; ſo that henceforth they were taxed by the commons, like the reſt of the community. By this reſignation, they parted with their importance, and have been very little conſidered ſince that period.

Wit,

Wit, penſionary of Holland, a man of very extenſive talents, who poſſeſſed the ſpirit of an old Greek republican. He had always oppoſed the growing power of the houſe of Orange, leſt it ſhould one day enſlave his country. His intereſt now predominated in the commonweath; and he reſolved to hazard a general engagement with the Engliſh, becauſe, even if the Dutch navy ſhould be defeated, that event would induce the French king to declare for the republic. A. C. 1665.

Opdam therefore ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh fleet, and deſcried it near Colcheſter; but the wind changing ſo as to blow from the ſouth-weſt, he bore away for the mouth of the Meuſe, rather than engage the enemy, while they had the advantage of the weather-gage. He received a freſh order from the ſtates, commanding him, upon pain of death, to fight the Engliſh, whatever might be the ſtate of the weather. He forthwith weighed anchor on the third day of June; and in a few hours fell in with the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and fourteen ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips and ketches, under the command of the duke of York, aſſiſted by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich, with Penn, Lawſon, Sir George Ayſcue, and ſome other inferior admirals. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both ſides fought with their uſual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hotteſt part of the battle, and behaved with great ſpirit and compoſure, even when the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed at his ſide by one cannon-ball, which covered him with the blood and brains of theſe three gallant gentlemen. He was cloſely engaged with Opdam, while that officer periſhed by his ſhip's blowing up; his flag was hoiſted by Cortenaer, who likewiſe fell in the battle: a good number of the Dutch captains had been promoted

The duke of York obtains a victory over the Dutch fleet.

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A. C. 1665. in the ſervice by the intereſt of the prevailing faction, without any regard to merit, and ſome of theſe were deficient in point of courage. In a word, the enemy was defeated, with the loſs of nineteen ſhips either burned or ſunk in the action, and about ſix thouſand men. The victory coſt the Engliſh three or four ſhips, and fifteen hundred men, among whom was vice-admiral Lawſon, an officer of great valour and experience: the Dutch fleet were chaſed to the coaſt of Holland, Van Tromp ſecuring their retreat with equal valour and diſcretion *. The duke of York ſailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thankſgiving to be obſerved all over England for this victory: and medals were ſtruck in honour of the duke of York, who now became the idol of the nation, and began to be reſpected as the preſumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was ſuppoſed barren, and almoſt totally neglected by her huſband. The king and council would not ſuffer the duke to expoſe his perſon to the danger of a ſecond engagement; and therefore the command of the fleet devolved upon the earl of Sandwich.

* This victory might have been much more complete, had not Brouncker, a gentleman of the duke's bedchamber, deſired Penn, in his maſter's name, to ſlacken ſail, while they were in purſuit of the enemy. The duke had retired to reſt, after having given order to carry all their ſail, and wake him when they ſhould be up with the chace. When he awoke, and ſaw they had ſhortened ſail, he expreſſed equal ſurprize and diſpleaſure; and Brouncker was turned out of his ſervice. Some people imagined this man had made uſe of the duke's name without his authority, in conſequence of an injunction of the dutcheſs, who had directed him to take all opportunities of conſulting his maſter's perſonal ſafety. Others alledge that the duke's courage was exhauſted; and that he was affected by an expreſſion of Penn, who, at a council of war, ſaid, they muſt prepare for a hotter engagement; for the courage of the Dutch was never ſo high as when they were reduced to deſpair. Burnet.

The

The Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Turkey and the East-Indies, having sailed North about, in order to avoid the English cruisers, anchored in the port of Berghen in Norway, where they lay until De Ruyter should come and conduct them to Holland. Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copenhagen, proposed to the king of Denmark, that he should seize all those ships, which were richly laden, by way of revenge upon the Dutch, who, he said, had involved him in a troublesome war with Sweden. The Danish king was tempted by the richness of the prize; but observed, he was not in a condition to execute such a design. Talbot promised to procure the assistance of the English fleet, provided he would recompense the captors with one half of what they should take: the bargain was struck between the two monarchs; and Charles ordered the earl of Sandwich to set sail immediately for Berghen. The earl detached Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet, on that service, and he attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity: but the governor of Bergen, who had not yet received orders to remain passive, joined the Hollanders in giving him such a warm reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprize, after having received considerable damage. Charles was not a little chagrined at the disappointment; and so displeased with the earl of Sandwich, for having omitted to sail thither in person, that he was deprived of his command, and sent on an embassy to Madrid. De Ruyter having returned from America with a good number of English prizes, was promoted to the office of lieutenant-admiral-general, and immediately vested with the command of a fleet of ninety-three sail, in excellent order. The pensionary De Wit, Huygens, and Boreel, embarked as commissioners from the states. They, with great difficulty, sailed from the Texel through

A. C. 1665. Unsuccessful attempt upon the Dutch fleet of merchant ships in Berghen.

A. C. 1665. a new paſſage which De Wit now diſcovered by ſounding. They arrived at Berghen, and took their trade under convoy; but they were diſperſed by a ſtorm, and ſome of them fell into the hands of the Engliſh: the reſt of the fleet returned to Holland, in a ſhattered condition.

Plague in London

At this period, the plague made terrible havoc in London, where it ſwept off above one hundred thouſand of the inhabitants. The king, in order to avoid the contagion, retired to Hampton-court, from whence he removed his houſhold to Saliſbury; but this city being ſoon infected, he choſe his reſidence at Oxford. Charles had excited the famous Bernard Van Ghalen biſhop of Munſter, to take arms againſt the States-general, in conſideration of receiving a large ſubſidy from England. This turbulent prelate aſſembled a body of twenty thouſand men, with which he invaded the province of Overyſſel, and reduced ſeveral places: but the French king and the duke of Lunenburg ſending a conſiderable reinforcement to the Dutch army, and the ſubſidy from England being ill paid, he was glad to liſten to terms of accommodation.

The parliament meeting at Oxford in the beginning of October granted twelve hundred thouſand pounds to the king for the ſupport of the war, and one hundred thouſand to the duke of York, in acknowledgment of his ſignal ſervices. Then they paſſed the famous "Five mile act," by which every non-conforming preacher was baniſhed five miles from the place where he had been miniſter, after the act of indemnity, unleſs he would take the oath of non-reſiſtance. They were treated in this manner, on pretence that they had endeavoured to poiſon the minds of the people, by inſtilling into them the principles of ſchiſm and rebellion. Tho' this proſecution was ſet on foot by the chancellor, who was the implacable enemy of the preſbyterians,

Five mile act.

the bill met with great oppoſition in the upper houſe, from his intimate friend the earl of Southampton. The ſame ſect was perſecuted with equal ſeverity in Scotland, though the majority of that nation were preſbyterians. The nonjuring miniſters were commanded by a proclamation to remove with their families, to the diſtance of twenty miles from the places where they uſed to reſide, on pain of incurring the penalty annexed to ſeditious practices. Theſe people would have been reduced to a deplorable ſituation, had not the charity of their friends increaſed, in proportion to the ſeverity of the government. A. C. 1665.

The king of France, importuned by the States-general, at length recalled his ambaſſadors, and, in January, declared war againſt England, though he did not enter heartily into the quarrel of his allies; and, indeed, this declaration was neceſſary to maintain the credit of the penſionary, whom it was certainly his intereſt to ſupport. The ſtates likewiſe found means to engage the king of Denmark in their cauſe, by virtue of a large ſubſidy, in conſideration of which he obliged himſelf to maintain a fleet of thirty ſail for their ſervice: at the ſame time they raiſed up ſuch a number of enemies againſt the biſhop of Munſter, that he was fain to ſue for peace, which was concluded at Cleves in the month of April. In the beginning of February, the king returned to London, and war was declared againſt France. In the courſe of the ſame month, the queen by miſcarrying, diſproved the common opinion of her being barren from ſome conſtitutional impediment. France declares war againſt England. Burnet. Rapin. Rapin.

The command of the fleet being beſtowed upon prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, the former, with forty ſhips, ſailed in queſt of the duke of Beaufort, who was ſaid to be at Belleiſle, with a ſquadron of ſix and thirty ſhips, ready to

A. C. 1666. enter the channel and join the Dutch fleet. After he had failed on this expedition, De Ruyter appeared between Newport and Dunkirk, with feventy-one ſhips of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire ſhips, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. The duke of Albemarle, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, bore down upon them without heſitation, on the firſt day of June; and the Dutch captains were ſo eager to engage, that they ordered their cables to be cut, that they might be the ſooner able to cloſe with the Engliſh. The battle began with incredible fury: Tromp, and afterwards De Ruyter, were obliged to ſhift their flags, becauſe their ſhips had ſuſtained ſuch damage that they were in danger of ſinking; one of their fleet was blown up, and admiral Evertzen killed with a cannon-ball. On the other hand, Sir William Berkeley, who led the van of the Engliſh, ſteered into the midſt of the enemy, where his ſhip was overpowered and taken, after a gallant reſiſtance, in which he loſt his life: one or two Engliſh ſhips were ſunk, notwithſtanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and vivacity of a youthful warrior. Night parted the combatants; but next day the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp having engaged himſelf too far among the Engliſh, would have been taken, had not De Ruyter come to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off. Theſe two admirals were of oppoſite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inſpired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and reſolution. The Dutch being joined with a reinforcement of ſixteen ſhips, and the Engliſh fleet ſhattered in ſuch a manner, that not above eight and twenty ſail remained fit for ſervice, the duke of

A furious engagement at ſea between the Engliſh and Dutch, in which the latter have the advantage.

PRINCE RUPERT.

Albemarle was obliged to ſheer off, and retreat to- A. C. 1666.
wards the coaſt of England, followed by the victorious enemy, who had come up with him towards the evening, when a calm prevented them from beginning a freſh attack. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous diſpoſition, ſent the diſabled ſhips a-head, while he himſelf remained in the rear with thoſe that were ſtill capable of ſervice, ſo as to form a line a-ſtern occaſionally for the reception of the purſuers. About two o'clock, when the Dutch were almoſt within gun-ſhot, the duke deſcried prince Rupert and his ſquadron to the ſouthward, crowding all their ſails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of one hundred guns had the misfortune to ſtrike on the Galloper ſands, where he was ſurrounded and taken. The two Engliſh fleets having joined, prepared for another engagement, and in the morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them without flinching. A fourth battle was now begun with equal rage and reſolution on both ſides, and continued until it was interrupted by a thick fog, when the Engliſh found themſelves ſo maltreated, that they took this opportunity to retire, with the loſs of divers large ſhips that were ſunk or taken by the enemy. Both ſides claimed the victory; but the Dutch had certainly obtained the advantage, though there was no glory loſt by either nation.

The Dutch fleet defeated by the Engliſh under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle.

Both fleets were ſoon refitted: and De Ruyter was ordered to put to ſea, to join the duke de Beaufort with the French ſquadron. On the twenty-fourth day of July, he fell in with the Engliſh fleet, commanded by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle: it amounted to above one hundred ſail, while that of the ſtates did not exceed eighty-eight ſhips of war and nineteen fireſhips. The bat-

A. C. 1666. tle began near the mouth of the Thames, and was fought with equal rage and emulation. Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, defeated the van of the enemy, and three of their inferior admirals were ſlain. In the mean time Sir Jeremy Smith, vice-admiral of the blue, was worſted by Van Tromp, who followed the chace ſo far that he was entirely ſeparated from the center. De Ruyter being overpowered by numbers, ſuſtained the engagement till night with difficulty; and was next day attacked by the whole force of the Engliſh navy. He bore the ſhock with unſhaken reſolution, and gained more glory by his retreat than the Engliſh acquired by their victory. They followed him to the coaſt of Fluſhing, and then ſailed in queſt of Tromp, whom they deſcried near Harwich; but, in ſpite of all their efforts, he retreated with very little loſs to the Texel. He was of the Orange faction, and ſuppoſed to have deſerted De Ruyter from motives of animoſity. This admiral having complained of his conduct, he was put under arreſt, and his commiſſion beſtowed upon another officer. The duke of Albemarle detached Holmes, with a ſquadron, to inſult the coaſt of Holland. In the road of Vlye he burned a great number of veſſels, and two ſhips of war appointed for their convoy: then he made a deſcent upon the iſland of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to aſhes. After this expedition, the Engliſh fleet took their ſtation near the iſle of Wight, to hinder the junction of the French and Dutch ſquadrons, while De Ruyter anchored in the road of St. John, near Boulogne. There he was taken dangerouſly ill of a contagious diſtemper, which had made terrible havock among the ſeamen; and the ſtates thought proper to recal him to Holland. The duke of Beaufort, thinking they were ſtill in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, ſailed up the channel

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as far as Dieppe, and then directed his course to the coast of Britany, without suffering the least molestation from the English. A. C. 1666.

About this period, London was exposed to a terrible disaster from a conflagration, which broke out on the third day of September, in the house of a baker that lived on Fish-street hill, near the bridge. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprising violence. They destroyed six hundred streets, including eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. The ruins, comprehending four hundred and thirty six acres of ground, extended from the Tower along the river to the Temple-church, and north-easterly along the city walls as far as Holborn bridge. The conflagration continued three days, notwithstanding all the endeavours that could be used to stop its progress, the king and the duke assisting personally on horseback, from the first alarm to its total cessation. At length when all hope had vanished, and the wretched inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, it suddenly ceased, and was entirely extinguished, after having reduced many thousand families from affluence to misery, and the most flourishing city in Europe to a deplorable heap of rubbish. Nevertheless the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of the prerogative, regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as materials for the construction of the houses. The narrowness of the streets had not only subjected them to casualties of this nature, but also prevented a free circulation of air, which being impregnated with animal vapours, was apt to putrify, and produce infectious distempers, insomuch that London Fire of London.

A. C. 1666. don was scarce ever free from a contagion; whereas no such distemper has appeared since the city was rebuilt.

Imputed to catholics. The fire of London was supposed to be the effect of malicious design, and variously imputed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the stream of prejudice happened to run; though it does not appear how such a scheme could contribute to the interest of either party. The populace generally exclaimed against the catholics as the authors of this conflagration. The parliament appointed a committee to make a severe scrutiny on this subject, but nothing appeared to the prejudice of the papists; yet the mischief is charged upon them in the inscription engraved on the pillar that was erected as a monument of this calamity. A French Huguenot was apprehended and convicted on his own confession: he appeared to be lunatic, and the ship-master, in whose vessel he had been conveyed from Rouen, declared that he did not arrive in London till the conflagration was begun; nevertheless he was condemned and executed. When the parliament met in September, they voted the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds for the support of the war: but as the nation in general imputed the conflagration to the catholics, and the king was observed to countenance some persons of that persuasion, they petitioned that the laws might be put in execution against Romish priests and jesuits. He forthwith issued a proclamation for this purpose; yet the delinquents were so favourably dealt with, that the people, and even the parliament, began to take umbrage at the administration.

Insurrection in Scotland. The rigour exercised against the presbyterians in Scotland, under the direction of archbishop Sharp, produced some violent disorders in that kingdom. In the month of November, the people of the western

weſtern ſhires ran to arms, and ſurpriſed Turner, who was quartered at Dumfries with an inconſiderable number of ſoldiers. At Lanerk in Cliddeſdale they held a ſolemn faſt, renewed the covenant, and publiſhed a declaration. They declared that they had taken arms againſt the king; they complained of the oppreſſion under which they groaned; they demanded that epiſcopacy ſhould be aboliſhed; and that preſbytery, with the covenant and their miniſters, ſhould be reſtored. Dalziel, with ſome troops of horſe, was ſent againſt thoſe inſurgents; and, by proclamation, offered pardon to all thoſe who ſhould, in four and twenty hours, return to their houſes. They marched towards Edinburgh, in hope of being joined by the inhabitants of that city; but, being diſappointed in their expectation, they began to be diſcouraged, and dropped off ſo faſt, that their number was reduced from two thouſand to nine hundred. They reſolved to retreat to the Weſt, where they knew the people were well affected to their cauſe; but, Dalziel charging them at Pentland-hills, they were immediately routed and diſperſed. Forty were killed on the ſpot, about one hundred and thirty taken; and the reſt eſcaped by the darkneſs of the night. They were poor, innocent enthuſiaſts; the objects of compaſſion rather than of reſentment; they had injured no perſon in their march, but payed regularly for their proviſion, and ſpent their time in ſermons, pſalm-ſinging, and prayer. Forty of theſe poor wretches choſe to be hanged rather than renounce the covenant; and bore their fate like martyrs. One Maccail, a preacher, who was ſuppoſed to know their correſpondents who had encouraged them to take up arms, was put to the torture, which he endured without flinching, and expired in a rapture of religious joy; exclaiming, in a clear, diſtinct voice, A. C. 1666.

"Fare-

A. C. 1666. "Farewel ſun, moon, and ſtars! farewel kindred "and friends! farewel world and time! farewel "weak and frail body! welcome eternity! wel- "come angels and ſaints! welcome Saviour of the "world! and welcome God the judge of all!" This ſeverity was expreſly contrary to the in linations of the king; who, in a letter to the earl of Rothes, the commiſſioner, deſired that no more blood might be ſhed; that the priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, on their promiſing to obey the laws for the future; and that thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit ſhould be ſent to the plantations. Theſe executions, and many other inſtances of oppreſſion were countenanced by Sharp and Burnet, archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow.

The parliament begins to abate in its complaiſance to the king.

The commons of England had by this time conſiderably abated in their complaiſance to his majeſty. Inſtead of diſcuſſing the money bill, they were employed in drawing up an impeachment of lord Mordannt, governor of Windſor-caſtle, for having acted tyrannically in that ſtation. They preſented the articles to the upper houſe, and complained at the ſame time, that he was permitted to keep his place among the peers, while the articles of his impeachment were recited. The upper houſe, on the other hand, blamed the commons for having infringed the right of the peers by impoſing an oath upon the commiſſioners, whom they appointed to receive the money ariſing from the capitation-tax: and theſe ſubjects of conteſt produced divers fruitleſs conferences. At length the poll-tax paſſed, though the king complained of their having named commiſſioners, as a mark of the little confidence they repoſed in his honour. They likewiſe confirmed the regulation he had made for rebuilding the city of London.

Burnet. Rapin. Ralph.

Charles was now tired of the war, from which he had reaped no ſolid advantage. Overtures of peace had

had been made, and the king of Sweden had offered his mediation. The States-general were willing that things ſhould be reduced to the ſame ſituation in which they had before the war; or that each ſide ſhould keep the advantage they had gained. This alternative was ſo equitable, that nothing ſeemed wanting but the formality of a treaty: the king, however, poſtponed the negotiation, until he ſhould receive the ſupplies from parliament, part of which he reſolved to convert to his own private purpoſes. Theſe being obtained, he determined to treat in earneſt; but inſiſted upon opening the congreſs at London. The States declared they had no objection to that propoſal, but the conſideration of their allies, the kings of France and Denmark, who refuſed to treat in any part of England. Then Charles propoſed the Hague, in hope of being able to influence the deliberations by means of the Orange faction; but the penſionary perceived his drift, and this place was judged improper. At length all parties agreed that the conferences ſhould be opened in May at Breda. Thither lord Hollis and Mr. Coventry were ſent as plenipotentiaries from England; while thoſe of France, Denmark, and Holland, repaired to the ſame place; as well as two ambaſſadors from the king of Sweden, under whoſe mediation the conferences were carried on. Charles inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the two ſhips which had been taken before the war, and the iſland of Poleron in the Eaſt-Indies, which had been wreſted from the Engliſh, reſtored by a ſubſequent treaty, and now retaken ſince the commencement of the war. It was a ſpice iſland, and though the Dutch had delivered it to the Engliſh, according to treaty, they carefully grubbed up all the clove trees before it was ſurrendered. Notwithſtanding this precaution, they knew it might A. C. 1667.

have

A. C. 1667. have been eaſily replanted, ſo as in a few years to interfere with their ſpice trade, and therefore tenaciouſly inſiſted upon retaining it in their own hands.

The Dutch fleet burns the Engliſh ſhips.

Charles, at length, relaxed in this article, and looked upon the peace as already concluded. He ordered all his large ſhips to be unrigged, and kept only a ſmall ſquadron of cruiſers in commiſſion. De Wit reſolved to take the advantage of his negligence: the preparations in Holland were continued without ceaſing; and De Ruyter, ſailing from the Texel with fifty ſhips of the line, ſteered directly to the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth day of June. He attacked Sheerneſs fort, which was eaſily taken: he broke down a ſtrong chain drawn acroſs the mouth of the river Medway, and deſtroyed three guardſhips moored within-ſide for its protection. He cleared a paſſage through ſome veſſels which had been ſunk in the channel by order of the duke of Albemarle: then ſailed up the river as far as Upnore caſtle, which was reduced. Then they burned three ſhips of the line, after having met with a deſperate reſiſtance; and fell down the Medway, with a reſolution to attempt the river Thames. By this time the whole coaſt was alarmed, and London filled with conſternation. Ships were ſunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms raiſed in different places, and provided with artillery, the trained-bands drawn out, and the city of London put into a poſture of defence. De Ruyter, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceeding in the Thames, ſet ſail for Portſmouth, which he in vain attempted to reduce; then he directed his courſe to Torbay, where he took ſome Engliſh veſſels. He made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Plymouth: from thence he ſailed up the channel; inſulted Harwich, chaced a ſquadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague, penetrated once

once more into the river Thames, and kept all the sea-ports on that side of the island in terror and confusion. The people were fired with indignation to see themselves exposed to the insult of an enemy whom they had formerly contemned. They loudly exclaimed against the king, who had converted the public money to his own private use, and left the nation defenceless. A. C. 1667.

De Ruyter, proceeded to alarm the whole coast, and domineer at sea without opposition, until the treaty was concluded at Breda. By this pacification Acadia was yielded to the French king, who agreed to restore St. Christophers and some other islands which he had taken in the West-Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquisitions they had made; by which stipulation the colony of New-York in North-America remained with the English. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had sold all the merchant ships taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and he pocketed the greater part of the late supply; while his brother enjoyed a great share of the prizes as lord high admiral of England, exclusive of the present he had received from the parliament. Peace of Breda.

The king was no stranger to the murmurs of the people, who complained bitterly of his conduct; not only on account of the late disgrace, but likewise of his having concluded an inglorious peace, after the war had cost such immense sums of money. They accused him of having deceived the parliament, in declaring he would never lay his arms aside until he should have received ample satisfaction from the enemy: they taxed him with having embezzled the supply: they blamed him for his partiality to catholics, and, in particular, for having bestowed the office of secretary of state upon the earl of Arlington, a reputed papist: they were The king resolves to sacrifice Clarendon, to the murmurs of the nation.

A. C. 1667. were ſcandalized at his lewd life and the irregularities of his court, which was become a ſcene of buffonery and intemperance. The king thought it was neceſſary to make ſome ſacrifice to the diſcontents of the ſubjects, and pitched upon Clarendon as a proper victim. Charles looked upon that nobleman as a troubleſome cenſor, who diſapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleaſures. The favourite miſtreſs railed at the earl without ceaſing: the duke of Buckingham and other courtiers ridiculed his character and deportment. The king received intimation that the chancellor had oppoſed a ſcheme projected by ſome members of the lower houſe, for ſettling a revenue of two millions upon his majeſty; and this oppoſition, which flowed from a love to his country, was conſtrued into an unpardonable offence againſt his ſovereign. His gravity and inflexible virtue operated as a continual reproach upon the levity and diſſolute morals of Charles, who had been long diſguſted by his manners, even while he reſpected his talents and fidelity: but what incenſed the king againſt him beyond all poſſibility of forgiveneſs, was the part he acted in the marriage of the duke of Richmond. Charles was enamoured of Mrs. Stuart, whom he had tempted with all the allurements which a crown could enable him to exhibit; but, finding her chaſtity impregnable, he entertained thoughts of procuring a divorce from the queen, and raiſing Mrs. Stuart to the place of his lawful conſort. The earl of Clarendon, who knew his deſign, is ſaid to have promoted a match between this young lady and the duke of Richmond, that his grand-children might not be excluded from the ſucceſſion to the throne, by the iſſue of the king's ſecond marriage. The duke of Richmond, who was captivated by the beauty of Mrs. Stuart, eſpouſed her in private; and the king was ſo exaſperated

rated at the match, that he not only baniſhed the duke from court, but reviled Clarendon with the moſt bitter reproaches. That nobleman had the misfortune to be very unpopular at this juncture; and his friend the earl of Southampton was lately dead. The preſbyterians, a powerful and numerous ſect, hated Clarendon as the author of all the perſecution they had undergone. He was abhorred by the catholics as the great obſtacle to all their hopes of favour and toleration; and the people, in general, blamed him for the ſale of Dunkirk. He was employed in building an expenſive houſe, while the plague depopulated the city of London; and purchaſed ſome ſtones, which, before the fire of London, had been ſet apart for rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral. The prejudiced vulgar beſtowed the name of Dunkirk-houſe on this new edifice: they looked upon the execution of his deſign at that juncture, as an inſult upon the calamities of the nation, and exclaimed againſt the impiety of uſing, in his own houſe, the materials which had been provided for the houſe of God. All theſe concurring cauſes were more than ſufficient to effect the diſgrace of this miniſter. The king, on pretence of ſatisfying the people, deprived him of the office of chancellor, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman was appointed keeper of the great ſeal. A. C. 1667.

The parliament aſſembling in October, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for having diſbanded the forces which had been levied for the defence of the kingdom, when the Dutch fleet inſulted the coaſts; for having diſmiſſed all the papiſts from his guards, and other military employments; and in particular, for having taken the office of high chancellor from the earl of Clarendon. To this article he replied, that he would never employ him for the future in any public affair. He not only withdrew his protection from the earl, but even

The commons impeach that nobleman of high-treaſon.

A. C. 1667. even influenced the commons to impeach him of high-treaſon. They accuſed him of having adviſed the king to maintain an army, diſſolve the parliament, and render himſelf abſolute: of having ſaid the king was a papiſt: of having ſold illegal patents, and granted injunctions to ſtop the ordinary courſe of juſtice: of having baniſhed ſeveral perſons in an unlawful manner: of having received bribes on different occaſions, and enriched his family, by obtaining grants for them of the crown-lands: of having fruſtrated uſeful deſigns for the preſervation of Engliſh and the reduction of French colonies: of having correſponded with Oliver Cromwell and his accomplices: of having adviſed and been inſtrumental in the ſale of Dunkirk: of having altered a patent after it had received the ſanction of the great ſeal: of having extorted money by writs of "Quo warranto" from many corporations, immediately after their charters had been confirmed by parliament: of having abuſed and betrayed his majeſty, by diſcovering his ſecrets to the enemy: and of having adviſed the fatal ſeparation of the fleet, which in the late war had well nigh been attended with the loſs of one part of his majeſty's navy.

He withdraws himſelf from the kingdom.

When the commons delivered theſe articles of accuſation at the bar of the upper-houſe, they deſired that the earl of Clarendon might be taken into cuſtody: but the lords refuſed to commit him upon ſuch a general accuſation. This refuſal gave riſe to a violent diſpute between the two houſes. At length the commons voted that the lords, in refuſing to commit the earl of Clarendon on their impeachment, had ſtopped the courſe of juſtice, and formed a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequence. The earl knowing how obnoxious he was to the commons, and conſcious that the court was determined on his ruin, reſolved to withdraw himſelf

himself from the kingdom. The duke of York had supported him with all his interest, both in the cabinet and the house of peers. He had even entered so warmly into his defence, as to give umbrage to the king, who at length desired him to tell the earl that he would do well to retire into another country; in which case he might still receive marks of his favour. It was in consequence of this intimation that he crossed the sea to France, where he spent the remainder of his life in reviewing and reducing to order the materials he had collected for the history of the great rebellion; a performance so justly celebrated for the candid representation of facts, and the striking touches of characters which it contains. A. C. 1667.

From Calais he sent an apology, addressed to the house of peers, in which he protested, that he had never received the value of a farthing from any person whatsoever, above the common perquisites of his office, exclusive of the king's bounty: that, as a minister, he had never taken any step without the concurrence of the privy-council: that he had dissuaded the king from engaging in the last war against Holland: that he had never offered any private advice to his majesty, touching the negotiation for peace; nor written any letters or instructions, but by the express order of the king and council: that, in quality of chancellor, he had often refused to put the great seal to patents, grants, and pardons, which had been unfairly obtained of his majesty, and were afterwards recalled upon his representations; and by this conduct he had brought upon himself a great number of enemies: that, by joining the earl of Southampton, in representing to the king that, in many extravagant articles, his expence far exceeded his revenue, he had intailed upon himself the enmity and ill offices of some persons in great credit: but that he had Sends an apology to the house of lords;

A. C. 1667. never intermeddled with the management of his majesty's revenues, nor ever received a present from any prince, except the books of the Louvre edition, which the chancellor of France had sent to him, by the command of his master. The lords having received this apology, deputed the duke of Buckingham to deliver it to the other house; and when he performed this task, "Gentlemen, "(said he) the lords have ordered me to put into your "hands this scandalous and seditious libel sent to "them by the earl of Clarendon. I have orders "to present it to your house, and to desire you will "send it back with your convenience; for, as it "is written in a stile very agreeable to their lord-"ships, they are desirous of preserving it care-"fully." The commons were incensed at this apology. Many virulent expressions were uttered against the earl: they voted it a scandalous and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. The lords sent down to the commons a bill for banishing the earl of Clarendon. The lower house proposed a bill of attainder, and a warm dispute ensued. At last the lower house passed the first bill, to which the king gave his assent with uncommon satisfaction. Such was the unworthy fate of Sir Edward Hyde earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor of England, a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, of equal attachment and integrity *.

and is banished by act of parliament.

In the month of January, the king resolved in council to form a triple alliance with the States-general and the king of Sweden, to hinder the French king from finishing the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. These he invaded on the

Triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden.

* In the month of October, the king went in procession, and laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange, which was finished with great expedition.

death of his father-in-law Philip IV. though he had formerly renounced all pretenſions to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, before his marriage was ſolemnized. Lewis was the moſt powerful, as well as the moſt ambitious prince in Europe. He had already ſubdued Aeth, Tournay, Liſle, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Charleroi. He was at the head of forty thouſand men, commanded by the beſt generals of the age: he waited for nothing but the death of Charles II. who was a weakly prince, to lay claim to that monarchy; and he ſeemed to aim at univerſal empire. All the ſtates of Europe were alarmed at his greatneſs. The Dutch were immediately expoſed to his deſigns, from the nature of their ſituation, and wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that ſhould be able to oppoſe a ſufficient barrier to the ambition of Lewis. The king of England finding his reputation and credit on the decline among his own ſubjects, was willing to take ſome ſtep that might retrieve his popularity; and nothing was ſo likely to produce this effect as his becoming the head of a league for ſupporting the balance of power in Europe. He therefore diſpatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambaſſador-extraordinary, with full power to conclude ſuch a treaty with the States-general; and they received the overture ſo favourably, that in five days the alliance was concluded. In a very little time, the king of Sweden acceded to it, as a principal, and thus was formed, "The triple alliance," by which the contracting powers aſſumed to themſelves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with reſpect to the Low-countries, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. The deſign of it was to ſupport the Spaniſh monarchy, reſtrain the exorbitant

A. C. 1667. Burnet. D'Eſtrades. Rapin.

A. C. 1668.

A. C. 1668. power of France, and prevent a dreadful war, in which all Europe would probably have been involved. It was therefore generally applauded, and ſeemed to be in all reſpects the wiſeſt meaſure which was taken in England during the whole reign of Charles II. Sir William Temple afterwards concluded a treaty of commerce with the States-general; and a peace between Spain and Portugal was happily effected under the guaranty of the Engliſh monarchy.

The commons become refractory.

When the parliament met in February, the king informed them of theſe tranſactions, demanded a ſpeedy ſupply for equipping a fleet, and fortifying the maritime parts of the kingdom; and earneſtly deſired they would deliberate upon ways and means for effecting an union with reſpect to religion among all his proteſtant ſubjects. The commons were ſo offended at the king's lenity towards nonconformiſts, that they did not even thank him for the triple alliance. On the contrary, they appointed a committee to examine the conduct of ſeveral perſons who were ſuppoſed to have miſbehaved in the late war. They inquired into the affair of Berghen in Norway, the ſeparation of the fleet under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle; the preſumption of Brounker, in giving falſe orders, while the duke of York was aſleep; the neglect of maintaining a ſufficient fleet, during the laſt year of the war; and the diſgrace occaſioned by the Dutch when they entered Chatham river. The king began to be extremely uneaſy at this ſpirit of inquiry, which was raiſed as a reproach upon the errors of his own adminiſtration. He ſolicited them to diſcuſs the buſineſs of the ſupply. They petitioned him to put the laws in execution againſt conventicles, papiſts, and nonconformiſts; and he publiſhed a proclamation for this purpoſe.

At

At this juncture a violent diſpute aroſe between the two houſes, concerning one Skinner a merchant in London, who had complained to the houſe of peers, of ſome injury he had received from the Eaſt-India company. The lords having examined the caſe, decreed that the company ſhould pay five thouſand pounds by way of damages to the complainant. The commons, in conſequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to priſon, for having addreſſed himſelf to the houſe of peers in an affair that related to the common law of the kingdom. The lords declared the company's petition a ſcandalous libel. Several ineffectual conferences were held between the two houſes. At laſt the commons voted, that whoſoever ſhould aid and aſſiſt, in executing the ſentence of the lords, ſhould be deemed guilty of having betrayed the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and of having violated the privileges of parliament. Then they granted three hundred and ten thouſand pounds to his majeſty, to be raiſed by a tax upon wine and other liquors; the parliament was adjourned, and afterwards prorogued till the month of October in the following year. A. C. 1668. Violent diſputes between the two houſes on account of Skinner.

The triple alliance was founded upon an alternative which Lewis XIV. had propoſed to the court of Spain. He offered to relinquiſh the rights of his queen, provided the court of Spain would either conſent to his keeping the conqueſts he had already made in the Low-countries; or, in lieu of theſe, cede to him Franche-comté, with the towns of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer. The queen-regent of Spain had kept aloof, in hope of engaging the States-general and the king of England in a war againſt Lewis: but finding that the contracting powers of the triple alliance propoſed only to take arms in caſe the French king ſhould recede from

A. C. 1668. his alternative, ſhe conſented to his keeping his acquiſitions in the Low-countries, on the ſuppoſition that the Engliſh and Dutch would be indiſpenſibly obliged to engage in a war with France, ſhould ſhe ever attempt to extend her conqueſts in the Netherlands. After this declaration of Spain, no other obſtacle remained to retard a pacification. Aix-la-Chapelle was the place pitched upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, who were immediately ſent thither from France, Spain, England, Holland, and Sweden. The treaty was ſigned in May, after a very ſhort negotiation. Lewis remained in poſſeſſion of all the towns in Flanders, which he had reduced. He reſtored Franche-comté to the crown of Spain; and the peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance. The Dutch ordered a medal to be ſtruck, with a pompous inſcription, in which they arrogated to themſelves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe. Joſhua Van Beuningen, their plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was vain enough to ſtrike another, in which he compared himſelf to Joſhua ſtopping the courſe of the ſun, which was the device of the French monarch. Theſe, and other ſuch unſeaſonable marks of pride, gave umbrage to Lewis, who ſeemed to remember them in the ſequel, when he found an opportunity to puniſh their preſumption. The king of England continued to enjoy his pleaſures without reſtraint. During the ſummer he made excurſions to different parts of the kingdom. He ſent a ſquadron of ſhips into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Thomas Allen, who compelled the Algerines to ſubſcribe a peace that was very advantageous to England. The office of treaſurer of the houſhold was conferred upon Sir Thomas Clifford. The command of the horſe-guards the king beſtowed upon

Treaty between France and Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Rapin.

upon his natural ſon the duke of Monmouth; and Sir John Trevor was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Morris, who reſigned *. A. C. 1669.

Whether Charles was willing to reconcile himſelf to the preſbyterians, who conſtituted a powerful body in the nation, or the duke of Buckingham, who had now great influence in the council, reſolved to forward a ſtep which he knew would be diſagreeable to the duke of Ormond, whom he hated, uncommon favour was now ſhewn to that ſect, which had been ſo much depreſſed ſince the reſtoration. They appeared more openly, and even ventured to aſſemble at their religious worſhip. Sir Orlando Bridgeman ſent for two of their miniſters, and conſulted them about means for comprehending the preſbyterians in the body of the Engliſh church, as well as for procuring an indulgence for independents and other nonconformiſts. Theſe two miniſters having conferred with the like number of the Engliſh church, after ſeveral meetings and various diſputes, agreed, That with reſpect to ordination, all nonconformiſts, already ordained, might be admitted into the miniſtry of the church, by virtue of this form, "Take thou "legal authority to preach the word of God, and "adminiſter the holy ſacrament in any congrega-"tion of England, where thou ſhalt be lawfully "appointed thereunto." They likewiſe agreed, That ceremonies ſhould be left indifferent: That the liturgy ſhould be altered: That thoſe who could not be comprehended ſhould be indulged:

Plan for comprehending the preſbyterian miniſters in the Engliſh church.

* In the month of March, Coſmo de Medicis prince of Tuſcany arrived in England, in the courſe of his travels, and was received with all the honours due to his rank and particular merit. After his departure, the king was viſited by prince George of Denmark, who made but a very ſhort ſtay in England.

In July, the univerſity of Oxford opened the magnificent theatre, built at the expence of Dr Sheldon archbiſhop of Canterbury, their chancellor; though he afterward reſigned this dignity to the duke of Ormond.

A. C. 1669. and, That, for the security of the government, the names of the teachers, and all the members of the congregation, should be registered. The lord chief-justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill for this purpose, and the keeper of the great-seal promised to support it in parliament with his whole interest. Archbishop Sheldon being apprised of their design, wrote a circular letter to all his suffragans, enjoining them to make an exact inquiry touching all the conventicles that were held within their respective dioceses. Having received all the information he could procure on this subject, he exaggerated every circumstance to the king; and obtained, from his easy indolent disposition, a proclamation, ordering the laws against nonconformist-ministers to be put in execution. Nevertheless, Charles gave the leading presbyterians to understand, that he had designs in their favour; and desired they would present a petition to him for indulgence. He went into the apartment of the earl of Arlington, on purpose to receive this address, to which he returned a very gracious answer.

The commons set on foot an inquiry against the nonconformists.

When the parliament met after the prorogation, the king, in a short speech, demanded a supply for the discharge of his debts; and recommended the union of the two kingdoms. The lord-keeper expatiated on the same subjects: but the commons, instead of taking these articles into consideration, resolved to examine the public accounts, that they might know in what manner the money granted by parliament had been expended. In the course of this inquiry, they found the books kept by the chamberlain Sir George Carteret, in such confusion, that they expelled him from the house. Then they thanked the king, in an address, for the proclamation he had published against conventicles; and appointed a committee to make exact inquiry concerning the conduct of the nonconformists.

These

These having received a great number of informations, reported, that divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, so as to insult the government, and endanger the public tranquillity: the house immediately declared, That they would adhere to his majesty for the support of the government in church and state, against all sorts of adversaries. The commons revived the dispute concerning Skinner and the East-India company; and passed several votes, which the house of lords considered as so many violations of their privileges. Their mutual animosity seemed every day to increase: so that the king seeing no prospect of an accommodation, and knowing he had nothing to expect from the commons, until this affair could be compromised, prorogued the parliament to the month of February. A. C. 1669.

The parliament of Scotland being opened in November by the earl of Lauderdale, as king's commissioner, passed an act, asserting and explaining the king's supremacy in such terms as rendered him absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs. The next act concerned the militia, decreeing, That it should be maintained, and ready to march into any part of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that it should receive orders from the council-board of Scotland. This clause was contrived by Lauderdale, for the immediate service of the king, should he ever have occasion for using the Scots against his subjects of England. The militia might be ordered to march without his appearing to countenance their motions; so that he could, with the better grace, disown them, should they miscarry in their expedition. Proceedings in the Scottish parliament.

In February, the king, in a speech to both houses, renewed his demand of a supply, in the most Echard. Burnet. Rapin.

A. C. 1669. moſt earneſt manner. He aſſured them he had found, upon examination of his accounts, that far from having miſapplied the money granted for the expence of the war, he had, on the contrary, for the ſupport of it, contracted large debts on his own revenue. He then recommended harmony among themſelves; and deſired they would deliberate upon a plan for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The lord-keeper enlarged upon the king's text. The commons voted, That a ſufficient ſum ſhould be granted, to eaſe the king of his incumbrances. For this purpoſe a duty was laid upon wine and vinegar; and his majeſtey was authoriſed to part with his fee-farm and quit-rents. Theſe two funds were thought ſufficient to produce one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, a ſum by no means adequate to the king's neceſſities *. The quarrel between the two houſes being kindled a-new, Charles, who began to be apprehenſive of the conſequences, ſummoned the parliament to Whitehall, where he propoſed that this unhappy diviſion ſhould never be mentioned; and that the proceedings relating to it ſhould be erazed from the journals of both houſes. They conſented to the expedient; and the flame was at once extinguiſhed.

The king mediates an accommodation between the two houſes.

A. C. 1670.

The firſt effect of their accommodation was a joint-addreſs to his majeſty, petitioning, That he would give effectual orders for ſuppreſſing conventicles, and executing the laws againſt popiſh recuſants. Charles, though in his own nature averſe to perſecution, was too irreſolute to withſtand the

A ſevere act againſt conventicles.

* This year was rendered remarkable by the death of the queen-mother, and that of George Monk, duke of Albemarle. The firſt died in Auguſt, at Paris, in the ſixtieth year of her age; and the duke dying in London, was ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his ſon Chriſtopher. In the courſe of this year likewiſe died the famous Pryn, the puritan, author of above two hundred volumes, the contents of which are little known and leſs eſteemed.

zeal

zeal of his parliament; and therefore gave his assent to this act, which declared an assembly consisting of seventeen dissenters, a conventicle, provided they met to worship God in any other form than that which was practised in the church of England, even though ten of that number should belong to the family in whose house they might be assembled. Every individual was fined in five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second. The preacher was condemned in twenty pounds for the first conviction, and in double that sum for the next; and a fine of twenty pounds was decreed against the person in whose house they should be found assembled. A. C. 1670.

Hitherto, Charles seems to have studied nothing so much as his own ease and convenience. Without doubt, he inherited high notions of the prerogative, which were cherished by the nature of his education. But his father's fate and his own sufferings had rendered him extremely cautious of quarrelling with his parliament; and his indolent disposition was an unsurmountable bar to the execution of any design upon the liberties of the people. He had immersed himself in pleasure, and would not have sacrificed his private enjoyment to the most flattering prospect of arbitrary power, if his revenue had been sufficient to supply the channels of his prodigality. Though the commons were attached to him from principle, and had been liberal, if we compare their grants with those of former parliaments; yet, considering the late increase of wealth and luxury in almost every court of Europe, his supplies were rather scanty than affluent; and his profuse expence rendered him a beggarly dependent upon the bounty of the commons. His necessities continually invaded his repose. He was incessantly importuned by suitors whom he could not gratify. He was roused by the more

Account of the cabal.

A. C. 1670. more active ſpirit of his brother, who exhorted him to riſe above thoſe humble ſolicitations he had hitherto practiſed to his parliament for daily ſubſiſtance. He was beſet by ſome deſperate counſellors, who importuned and encouraged him to aſſert his own independence in ſubduing that inſolent uſurpation which the rebellious ſubject had raiſed on the ruins of regal authority. Prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, lord-keeper Bridgeman, and ſecretary Trevor, men in whoſe honour and integrity the nation had confidence, were now ſeldom or never ſummoned to the cabinet-council; but the king was wholly conducted by the advice of Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of "The cabal," a word formed by the initial letters of their names. Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of an enterpriſing genius, rendered the more dangerous by the talent of eloquence and the ſpirit of intrigue which he poſſeſſed. Lord Aſhley, afterwards raiſed to the earldom of Shaftſbury, had been a member of the long-parliament, of great influence among the preſbyterians: he inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwell; and afterwards employed his credit in forwarding the reſtoration. By his uncommon talents, he acquired great weight with every party he eſpouſed. He was turbulent, reſtleſs, ambitious, ſubtle, and enterpriſing: he had conquered all ſenſe of ſhame; was reſtrained by no fears, and influenced by no principle. The duke of Buckingham was a gay, capricious nobleman, of ſome wit, and great vivacity; the miniſter of riot; the ſlave of intemperance; a pretended atheiſt, without honour, principle, œconomy, or diſcretion. Arlington poſſeſſed a very moderate capacity, and was not remarkable for any vicious habit, though he wanted

inte-

The *DUKE* of *LAUDERDALE*.

integrity and resolution to withstand the temptations of his colleagues. Lauderdale was learned, aukward, obstinate, ambitious, passionate even to frenzy, vindictive, implacable, insolent, and abject. Such were the individuals that constituted the cabal; and the duke of York assisted at their councils. They represented to the king, that even this parliament, so remarkably attached to the crown, had already exhibited some symptoms of discontent; that they had been penurious in their temporary supplies, and kept his revenue in a very precarious situation. They observed, that his father's great error consisted in his having neglected to form alliances with powerful princes who would have supported him against his rebellious subjects; that his kinsman, the king of France, if properly cultivated, would enter into such engagements with him as would raise him above all fear of revolt; that a war with Holland, undertaken in conjunction with Lewis, would be productive of every advantage he could desire to enjoy: that he should be able to ruin the Dutch, whose power, affluence, and principles encouraged and supported republicans in England; that he would be enriched with the spoils of the enemy, as well as by subsidies which he might receive from the French monarch: that the war would furnish him with a pretence for raising forces and equipping a navy that would enable him to retrieve the lost power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to absolute dominion. These suggestions could not be disagreeable to a prince like Charles, who dreaded or despised more than one half of his subjects, who found himself in a very uneasy state of dependence, hated the Dutch as the enemies of monarchy, and felt a strong propensity to the religion of Rome, which at present he durst not avow. A. C. 1670.

Colbert

A. C. 1670. Colbert de Croiſſy, the French ambaſſador at London, had already ſounded the inclinations of the king and his cabal, touching an alliance with his maſter; and he found them very favourably diſpoſed, when he underſtood the deſign of Lewis was to humble the pride of the States-general. After Colbert had thus paved the way for a negotiation, the king of France went to ſee his new works at Dunkirk; and was accompanied by the dutcheſs of Orleans, who took this opportunity of being in the neighbourhood of England to viſit her brother Charles. She landed in May at Dover, where ſhe was received by the king and all his court; and there they enjoyed each other's company for a fortnight, in a continual round of diverſions. She was one of the moſt amiable princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived, and loved her brother with the warmeſt affection; but ſhe is ſuppoſed to have been veſted with a private commiſſion, to aſſure Charles that the king of France would enable him to ſhake off the yoke of parliament, and reſtore the catholic religion in England, as ſoon as the Dutch ſhould be ſufficiently humbled by their joint endeavours. If he retained any ſcruples about the execution of this ſcheme, Lewis could not have fixed upon more effectual expedients to remove them than thoſe he now practiſed. The dutcheſs of Orleans was a young lady of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, and had great influence with her brother: beſides, the French king reſolved to bind him down to his engagements by the bonds of pleaſure. For this purpoſe, he ſent over with the dutcheſs, mademoiſelle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments, which inſtantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained

Charles is viſited by his ſiſter the dutcheſs of Orleans.

tained her empire over him during the whole courſe of his life. She kept him firm to his connexions with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former miſtreſs, lady Cleveland, was raiſed to the dignity of dutcheſs, as a recompence for the influence ſhe had loſt. A. C. 1670.

The good underſtanding between the kings of France and England had well nigh been blaſted in the bud, by an incident which made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Charles. The dutcheſs of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, happened to ſwallow a glaſs of ſuccory-water, by the direction of her phyſicians; and was immediately ſeized with violent agonies, of which ſhe expired. She was ſuppoſed to have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of her huſband, who ſeemed to take umbrage at the gaiety of her diſpoſition, and intimacy of friendſhip ſubſiſting between her and his brother Lewis XIV. She certainly believed herſelf poiſoned; though ſhe was reſtrained by her confeſſor from owning her ſuſpicion to Mr. Montague the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, who was preſent at her death. She died with great reſolution, declaring ſhe felt no regret at leaving the world, but that of parting with her brother Charles, whom ſhe loved with the moſt tender affection. When the news of this tragedy were brought to Whitehall by Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who, at the ſame time, communicated the ſuſpicion of her having been poiſoned, the king melted in a flood of tears, and expreſſed his indignation againſt the duke of Orleans, in the moſt bitter terms of reproach, But he ſoon checked his paſſion, and ſaid, "Thomas, I beg you will not mention a "ſyllable of this matter." The court of France was in great confuſion at this event. The report of the poiſon was immediately circulated through the city of Paris, and Lewis was afraid it would deſtroy Sudden death of that princeſs.

A.C. 1670. ſtroy the connexion between him and the king of England. He ſent over the marquis de Bellefonds, to condole with Charles; and this nobleman was furniſhed with the atteſtations of the phyſicians, who declared, that the dutcheſs died of a natural diſtemper. The king was, or pretended to be, ſatisfied with theſe teſtimonies; and the duke of Buckingham, on pretence of carrying compliments of condolence to the duke of Orleans, was diſpatched to France, with power to ſign the treaty which had been negotiated by the dutcheſs.

Sir William Temple recalled from Holland.

Lewis, in the month of September, ſent the marechal de Crequi with a body of forces into Lorraine, of which he took poſſeſſion. The duke having been ſurpriſed, eſcaped with difficulty, and implored the interceſſion of Charles, whom he had aſſiſted in his exile; but the anſwer he received, was, "That there was no remedy like patience." The parliament meeting in October, the king, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, gave them to underſtand, that as the fleets of France and Holland were lately increaſed to a very formidable degree, it was neceſſary that he ſhould maintain a reſpectable navy; and therefore he had ordered fifty large ſhips to be put in commiſſion, beſides the ſquadron already in the Mediterranean: that even, though he had not engaged to ſuccour his allies in caſe of neceſſity, it would be very imprudent to ſit aloof, and tamely ſee ſo many clouds gathering, without providing ſome ſhelter againſt the impending ſtorm. He mentioned the treaties which had been lately concluded with the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, the States-general, and the duke of Savoy. He obſerved, that the yearly expence of the fleet amounted to five hundred thouſand pounds: That the remaining part of the revenue was not ſufficient to pay the intereſt of the debts which the king had con-

contracted: and, That the present armament would cost eight hundred thousand pounds. Finally, he assured them the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas; and desired they would regulate their measures accordingly. The commons, dazzled by the great alliances the king had contracted for the honour and advantage of the nation, resolved to gratify him in all his demands. They began to prepare bills for raising two millions five hundred thousand pounds; but, before they could be brought to perfection, the king adjourned the parliament. By this time Sir William Temple, who resided as ambassador at the Hague, was recalled to London, the king and his ministers knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country, to act as an instrument of the cabal. At first, he was ordered to leave his wife and family in Holland, as if the king intended he should return; but De Wit was not a dupe to this artifice. He suspected the designs of the two monarchs; and desired the Dutch resident at London to inform the ministry, that he would look upon Temple's being recalled as an infallible proof of a change of measures at the court of England. In the preceding winter the prince of Orange, being then twenty years of age, arrived at London, and was affectionately received by his uncle. His voyage was undertaken with a view to demand the payment of the sums which the late prince had advanced for Charles and his father; and to solicit the king's interest and good offices towards his being advanced to the dignity of stadtholder. He received nothing but civil entertainment and general promises, which Charles had no intention to perform; though he tampered with his nephew about religion, and talked of the protestants as a broken, divided faction. A. C. 1670 Burnet. Montague's letters. Rapin. Hume.

The commons, after a short adjournment, passed the Coventry-act, by which the practice of maim-

A. C. 1671. ing was made a capital crime. This law derived its origin from an outrage committed upon a member of parliament. A propoſal having been made in the houſe for laying a tax upon play-houſes, it was oppoſed by the courtiers, one of whom obſerved, that the players were the king's ſervants, and part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry aſked, whether his majeſty's pleaſure lay among the male or the female players; and this ſarcaſm was conſidered as an inſolent violation of that reſpect due to the kingly name, which had been hitherto religiouſly preſerved in all parliamentary diſputes. It was the more diſagreeable to Charles, as he then publicly maintained Gwyn and Davis, two concubines who had been choſen from the theatre. The duke of Monmouth, therefore, undertook to make a public example of Coventry. This gentleman, in going to his own lodgings at night, was attacked in the ſtreet by Sands, Obrian, and ſome other officers of the guards. He forthwith ſnatched a flambeau from his ſervant with one hand, and managed his ſword ſo gallantly with the other, that he wounded three or four of the aſſailants, before he was overpowered and diſarmed: then his noſe was purpoſely cut to the bone, as a leſſon to teach him what reſpect he owed to the king's character. The commons, exaſperated at this aſſault upon a member for words ſpoken in the houſe, not only enacted the law abovementioned, but alſo inſerted a clauſe, importing, That thoſe who attacked Sir John Coventry ſhould not be intitled to the benefit of a pardon from the crown. The lower houſe, with the concurrence of the lords, preſented an addreſs to the king, on the progreſs of popery, repreſenting the cauſe of its increaſe; and the means by which it might be reſtrained for the future. Charles aſſured them he would exert all his power for their ſatisfaction; but ſaid, they could not think it ſtrange,

The commons paſs the Coventry act.

ſtrange, that he ſhould make ſome diſtinction be- A. C. 1671.
tween the papiſts who had lately embraced the catholic religion, and thoſe who had not only been born and educated in that perſuaſion, but alſo faithfully ſerved his father and him in their adverſity. The commons then proceeded upon the ſupplies: they brought in a bill for a land-tax, another for an additional exciſe upon beer, and a third for taxing law-ſuits for a certain number of years. The king had for ſome time made a practice of going to the houſe of peers, without formality, on pretence of hearing the debates for his amuſement, though his real deſign was to influence their deliberations.

When the firſt of the bills ſent up by the commons was read in the upper houſe, lord Lucas roſe up, and in the king's hearing, pronounced a ſevere ſpeech, complaining, that ſince the reſtoration, the burdens laid upon the ſubject were much more grievous than at any former time, while the ſtrength of the kingdom had viſibly diminiſhed; that great ſums granted to the king had been employed to enrich a few individuals, who had kept aloof from him in the day of trouble; while thoſe who had ſuffered the heat of the day, undergoing impriſonments, ſequeſtrations, and expoſing their lives for his majeſty's ſervice, were reduced to poverty and contempt. He ſaid the nation was in ſome reſpects more miſerable than if it were actually ſubdued by a victorious enemy; for, in that caſe, the people would know the worſt of their misfortune; a circumſtance that would in ſome meaſure alleviate their affliction: but at preſent the ſubject was kept in the moſt perplexing uncertainty, in giving to-day, they did not know but that they ſhould be obliged to give twice as much to-morrow, until they ſhould be entirely exhauſted. It

Bold ſpeech of lord Lucas.

A.C. 1671 would be neceſſary therefore to make ſome ſort of eſtimation, to aſcertain what every man might call his own: for his own part, ſhould it be found neceſſary, he would conſent to give one half of his ſubſtance to the king, provided he could be ſecured in the poſſeſſion of the remainder. He added, that the bills brought in by the commons would raiſe three millions; an enormous ſubſidy. He therefore propoſed, that the lords ſhould moderate the exceſſive liberality of the lower houſe, by reducing the rate of the land-tax: for, if they had not power to retrench the extravagance of ſuch impoſitions, they might ſay they had nothing; and that their whole ſubſtance was at the diſpoſal of the commons. This bold ſpeech, which was printed and publiſhed, gave ſuch umbrage to the king, that, in conſequence of his requeſt, the peers ordered it to be burned by the hands of the hangman, as a libel upon lord Lucas; becauſe, when the paper was preſented to him, and he was queſtioned about it, he owned part of it only. Nevertheleſs it had made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the lords, who ſent back the bill with amendments. Theſe were rejected by the commons, and a diſpute enſued; but at laſt the lords ſubmitted, and the bills were paſſed.

Diſpute between the two houſes.

The lords agreed likewiſe to the tax upon law-proceedings: but they refuſed to paſs a fourth, for laying an additional duty on certain commodities. The merchants of London petitioned againſt it, as an inſupportable burden on trade; and the upper houſe propoſed amendments. The commons affirmed that the lords had no right to amend money-bills; theſe denied the aſſertion. The diſpute grew warm. The commons claimed the ſole right of regulating the taxes, by virtue of a fundamental law. The lords deſired them to produce that law; and

and they answered they would find it on the back of the "Magna Charta." These successive conferences served only to inflame their mutual animosity, which became so violent that the king found it necessary to prorogue the parliament; and, for a year and nine months, it was kept from reassembling, by means of repeated prorogations. A. C. 1671.

The duke of York abjures the protestant religion.

In the month of March, the duke of York lost his dutchess, Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, by whom he had eight children, two of whom survived; namely, Mary afterwards princess of Orange, and Anne, who lived to sway the sceptre of England. The dutchess had, during her last illness, embraced the Roman catholic religion; and, soon after her death, the duke made a solemn abjuration of the protestant heresy, to father Simons, an English jesuit. He had been converted during his exile, and was generally known to be a catholic in his heart, though hitherto he had not made open profession of his religious principles; on the contrary, he pretended to adhere to the church of England. The king had long entertained the design of procuring a divorce from Catharine, in hope of having legitimate issue by another consort. Buckingham had proposed infamous means for ruining her reputation, in such a manner that she might have been charged with breach of conjugal faith; but these expedients the king rejected with horror. He believed the marriage might be declared null, on account of her being barren, or incapable of bearing children; and the pope was sounded on this subject. The jesuits in England knowing of what consequence such a divorce might be to the duke of York, pressed him to declare his religion, threatening, that unless he would make that sacrifice to his conscience, they would use all their influence to procure the pope's consent to the king's divorce from

A. C. 1671. Catharine. The duke for ſome time refuſed to take a ſtep which he knew would render him odious to the greater part of the Engliſh nation; but finding the jeſuits were actually employed in putting theſe threats in execution, he agreed to make a formal abjuration of the proteſtant religion, on condition that they would obſtruct the divorce.

The cabal reſolve upon a war with Holland.

The immediate views of the cabal at this juncture were directed to a war with Holland; it was therefore neceſſary to break the triple alliance, and find a pretext for beginning hoſtilities. Sir Henry Coventry was diſpatched as ambaſſador to Sweden; and Sir George Downing ſent to the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple. De Wit knew this miniſter to be a turbulent firebrand, and an inveterate enemy to the republic; he therefore conſidered the change as an infallible ſign of an approaching rupture. Downing, at his arrival in Holland, ſolemnly proteſted that his maſter was determined to adhere ſcrupulouſly to the triple alliance; and that he had no other reaſon for equipping a fleet, but that of rendering himſelf reſpectable among his neighbours, and guarding againſt the deſigns of the French king, whom he had great reaſon to diſtruſt. At the ſame time he complained of the backwardneſs of the Dutch, in fulfilling the article of the laſt treaty relating to Surinam; and mentioned ſome cauſes of difference between the Engliſh merchants and their Eaſt-India company. The captain of a yacht ſent to bring over the wife and family of Sir William Temple from the Hague, was ordered by the admiralty to go in queſt of the Dutch fleet, and fire upon them ſhould they refuſe to pay the compliment to the flag of England. This officer did not fall in with them until lady Temple and her children were on board: then he ſailed though the midſt of a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent; and, as they did not lower their topſails,

topſails, diſcharged his cannon at them without A. C. 1671.
heſitation. The Dutch admiral, ſurpriſed at this extravagance, ſent an officer to expoſtulate with him upon ſuch extraordinary conduct. He replied, that he acted according to orders. Then Van Ghent going on board of his yacht, on pretence of paying his compliments to lady Temple, told him, that although the States-general had engaged by treaty to pay the compliment to the Engliſh flag, he could not expect that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, would lower their top-ſails to a ſingle veſſel, which was not even a ſhip of war, but a private boat for pleaſure or diſpatch. The captain departed without further diſputes; yet, though he had fired ſeveral guns loaded with ſhot at them, and been ſaluted by the Dutch admiral, he no ſooner arrived in England, than he was committed priſoner to the Tower for not having ſufficiently aſſerted the honour of his majeſty. This was another ſlight pretence for demanding ſatisfaction of the States-general.

Account of Blood who attempted to ſteal the crown.

How far Charles reſpected his honour at home, we may learn by an incident of a ſingular nature, that occurred about this period. There was a deſperate ruffian of the name of Blood, rendered infamous by the practice of robbery and aſſaſſination. He had undertaken to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, while the duke of Ormond was viceroy of Ireland: but he failed in the attempt, and ſome of his accomplices being hanged, he ſwore their death ſhould be revenged. He followed the duke into England; and one night, while that nobleman was in his coach returning to Clarendon-houſe where he lodged, Blood, with eight accomplices well mounted, ſtopped the carriage. He murdered the coachman and one of the ſervants, then ſet the duke on horſeback, behind one of the gang, that he might be conveyed to Tyburn, and put to an

A.C. 1671 ignominious death, purposing to leave his body hanging on the gibbet, with a paper fixed to his breast, explaining the cause of his execution. They had already made a considerable progress in this expedition, when the duke, making an effort to disengage himself, fell from the horse, together with the assassin to whom he had been tied: while they lay struggling together on the ground, Ormond's domestics, who had been by this time alarmed, rode up to his assistance; and Blood, with his crew having discharged their pistols at the duke, escaped by favour of the darkness. He afterwards formed a scheme for carrying off the regalia from the Tower of London; and executed it so far, that he had actually seized the crown, and passed out at the Tower-gate, with three accomplices, after having left Edwards the keeper of the jewel office, seemingly dead of the wounds he received in defending his trust. Nevertheless, he alarmed the guards, and the ruffians were apprehended. One of them was immediately known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, which was now laid to the charge of Blood; and he frankly owned himself author of that enterprize, but he refused to discover his accomplices, saying, the fear of death should never prompt him to deny a crime, or betray an associate. This desperado, who had been a soldier in Cromwell's army, behaved with such remarkable intrepidity and contempt of life, that the king was seized with an emotion of curiosity to see such a phenomenon; and Blood knew how to turn this circumstance to his advantage. He told his majesty, that on account of the severity which had been exercised over the consciences of the godly, he had once resolved to kill the king with a carbine, in a place near Battersea, where Charles used to bathe in the river: that with this view he had actually concealed himself

ſelf among the reeds; but his ſpirits were ſo damped with the awe of majeſty, that he relented, and laid aſide his deſign. He ſaid he looked upon life and death with the moſt abſolute indifference; but gave the king to underſtand, that his aſſociates had bound themſelves together by the moſt ſolemn oaths, to revenge the death of any individual of the confederacy, that might fall into the hands of juſtice; and that no power upon earth could baffle the efforts of their deſperate reſolution. The king, though he affected admiration at this man's boldneſs, was in all probability alarmed with the fear of aſſaſſination, and on that motive pardoned the malefactor; though not before he had obtained the conſent of Ormond, who granted it in the moſt gallant manner. Blood was not only pardoned, but gratified with an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland. He lived in great familiarity with the king, and affected to be ſeen frequently in the ſame apartment with the duke of Ormond; while Edwards, who had run the riſque of his life in preventing Blood's felonious purpoſe, though in the eightieth year of his age, reaped no reward for his fidelity and valour, except the promiſe of two hundred pounds which he did not live to enjoy †.

A. C. 1671.

Burnet. Rapin. Arlington's French letters. Carte's life of Ormond.

A. C. 1672.

The exchequer is ſhut.

The contracting parties, in the league againſt Holland, had agreed that the French king, the elector of Cologn, and the biſhop of Munſter, ſhould fall upon the territories of the States-general in three different places, while the combined fleets of France and England ſhould attack their navy, and diſtreſs their commerce. Nothing retarded the commencement of hoſtilities, but the indigence of Charles: though he had received two millions five hundred thouſand pounds from parliament, and

† In the courſe of this year died the famous lord Fairfax, and the earl of Mancheſter; who, though they had been generals againſt the late king, were afterwards inſtrumental in his ſon's reſtoration.

ſeven

A. C. 1672. seven hundred thousand livres by stipulation from the king of France, he still found himself in necessity. He gave his ministry to understand, that he could not begin the war without a further supply of five hundred thousand pounds; and as he could not have recourse to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promised to confer the office of treasurer upon him who should contrive a practicable expedient for raising that sum of money. Sir Thomas Clifford happened to be the most fortunate in his invention: he proposed to stop the payments of the exchequer, and convert all the money to his immediate occasions. The scheme was immediately put in execution, and Clifford appointed lord-treasurer. The whole nation was astonished and affrighted at this desperate measure. The bankers, who had lent money to the government, shut up their shops, and refused to accept the draughts of those who kept cash with them; so that many private families were ruined. The merchants could neither answer bills, nor pay duties at the custom-house; so that commerce was interrupted, credit in a great measure destroyed, the public faith violated, universal confusion ensued among the trading part of the nation, and the city of London was filled with clamour and distraction. The king published a declaration, excusing this step as the effect of necessity, arising from the formidable preparations of his neighbours, and promising to do justice to the creditors of the crown. Finding very little regard was paid to his proclamation, he convened the bankers at the Treasury, and assured them from his own mouth, that they should be punctually satisfied, either from the next supplies granted by parliament, or out of his own revenue: he therefore desired they would answer the draughts of the merchants, so that business might flow in its former channel.

The

The cabal had deviſed another plan for filling the king's coffers; namely that of intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant ſhips from Smyrna, valued at fifteen hundred thouſand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes was ſent on this ſervice, and fell in with Spragge, on his return with a ſquadron from the Mediterranean: had he been reinforced by this officer, he would certainly have ſucceeded in his deſign; but he was reſolved to ingroſs the whole honour and advantage to himſelf, and allowed Spragge to continue his voyage homewards. He ſoon deſcried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five ſhips of war, commanded by commodore Van Neſs, who had received ſome intimation of his deſign, and put his ſquadron, with the convoy, into an admirable poſture of defence. Holmes attacked them with great impetuoſity, on the thirteenth day of March; and all that day they bravely ſuſtained the engagement: it was renewed in the morning, and maintained till night; on the third day, one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken, together with three or four inconſiderable trading veſſels: the reſt continued their courſe, under the excellent conduct of their commodore; and, by the favour of a thick fog, arrived ſafely in Holland. The States-general exclaimed loudly againſt this piratical attempt, which appeared the more diſhonourable, as it had proved unſucceſsful; the people of England condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and the king himſelf was aſhamed of the undertaking. The miniſtry pretended that it was no other than a caſual rencounter, occaſioned by the pride of the Dutch commodore, who refuſed to ſtrike his topſails in compliment to the Engliſh ſquadron. Nevertheleſs four Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, afterwards taken by the Engliſh cruizers, were condemned as lawful prize, even before the declaration of the war.

A.C. 1672. Attempt upon the Dutch fleet from Smyrna.

The

A.C. 1672. The States-general could hardly believe the king of England was in earneſt, until theſe outrages were committed; then they were convinced, and redoubled their diligence in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. In the mean time Charles, with a view to favour the Roman catholics, by virtue of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical affairs, confirmed by divers acts of parliament, iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending the penal laws againſt nonconformiſts, indulging proteſtant diſſenters with the public exerciſe of their religion, and allowing the catholics to worſhip God after their own way in private. This was a large ſtride towards arbitrary power, ſo contrary to the ſentiments of the parliament, that he would not have ventured to take it, had not he been provided with a powerful fleet, and a new-raiſed army, at his devotion.

Charles declares war againſt the Dutch.

His next ſtep was to declare war againſt the Dutch, for having refuſed to ſend home the Engliſh families ſettled in Surinam, as the two nations had ſtipulated in the treaty of Breda; for having denied the honours due to the Engliſh flag; and ridiculed the king and people of England in medals and pictures: ſuch were the frivolous pretences of this iniquitous war. The Dutch juſtified themſelves, by affirming that they had not detained the Engliſh families in Surinam, but they had refuſed to quit the colony; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their topſails on their own coaſt to an Engliſh pleaſure-boat; and that they had never countenanced any pictures or medals that reflected upon the honour of the king or people of England †. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended,

† The foundation of this ridiculous charge was a portrait of Cornelius De Wit, the penſionary's brother, painted by order of the magiſtrates of Dort. On the back-ground, the painter had exhibited a repreſentation of ſhips on fire, ſuppoſed to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, in which Cornelius De Wit bore a conſiderable ſhare.

in

ANTH.Y ASHLEY COOPER Earl of SHAFTESBURY

in his declaration, that he would ſtill faithfully ad- A. C. 1672.
here to the purport of the triple alliance. Mean while, he ordered all the Dutch ſhips that were in Engliſh harbours to be ſeized, contrary to an expreſs article in the treaty of Breda. The Dutch followed his example; but afterwards releaſed them, obſerving that his breach of faith was not a ſufficient reaſon for their imitating ſuch unjuſtifiable conduct. After ſuch an uncommon inſtance of candour and integrity, Charles was aſhamed to detain their veſſels, the greater part of which was ſet at liberty. He now, by a ſtretch of prerogative, ſuſpended the act of navigation, as almoſt all the ſeamen in the kingdom were employed in the navy. He iſſued a proclamation in favour of preſſing ſailors: in another he threatened all thoſe who ſhould preſume to ſpeak irreverently of his conduct, or hear ſuch diſcourſes without informing againſt the delinquents; and, by an order of council, he eſtabliſhed martial law for the regulation of the army. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refuſing to affix the ſeal to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws, was removed from his office, and lord Aſhley, now earl of Shafteſbury, was appointed lord chancellor of England.

Lewis XIV. in his declaration of war againſt the Dutch, aſſigned no other reaſon than his being diſſatisfied with their conduct. The Biſhop of Munſter declared war againſt the republic, on pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his places; and the elector of Cologne admitted a body of French troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own ſafety, though De Wit was well apprized of the treaty in which he had engaged. The commonwealth of the United Provinces ſeemed now devoted to deſtruction. Lewis was at the head of an army, conſiſting of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, commanded

A. C. 1672. ed by the beſt generals in the world: his ſubjects were enriched by commerce, under the excellent adminiſtration of Colbert; and his finances were managed with admirable oeconomy. The Dutch, on the other hand, were diſtracted between two powerful factions. De Wit, the chief of the Louveſtein party, who had long directed the adminiſtration, thought he could not take more effectual means to depreſs the Orange faction, than thoſe of diſbanding great part of the army, diſmiſſing the old officers who were devoted to the family of Orange, and ſupplying their places with the ſons and kinſmen of his own friends, generally raw youths, who had never ſeen ſervice, were utterly ignorant of diſcipline, and, for the moſt part, ſerved by proxy; ſo that no military ſpirit remained. The ſoldiers were deſpiſed; the fortifications neglected; and all the valour and diſcipline of the republic confined to the navy, which was the object of the penſionary's peculiar care and inſpection. The States-general at firſt endeavoured to divert the king of England from his hoſtile intentions, by conceſſions and ſubmiſſions. They conſented to honour his flag in any manner he ſhould preſcribe; and they appointed his nephew the prince of Orange captain-general and admiral, though he had not yet attained the twenty-third year of his age: but Charles rejected all their advances; he was bent upon the deſtruction of the republic, without paying the leaſt regard to the intereſt of his nephew.

Diſtractions in that republic.

Battle of Solebay.

De Wit had not acted with his uſual vigilance, in making preparations for the threatened invaſion. He was now ſenſible of the extreme hazard to which his country was expoſed; and reſolved to make one powerful effort by ſea, while the prince of Orange was employed in making levies, and re-eſtabliſhing diſcipline in the army. De Ruyter was

was ſent to ſea with a fleet of ninety ſhips of war, beſides forty frigates and fireſhips, and Cornelius De Wit acted on board as deputy from the States. Their intention was to prevent the junction of the French and Engliſh fleets; but this was already effected. They lay at anchor in Solebay, to the number of one hundred and thirty ſhips of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief; the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; and the French ſquadron was conducted by the marechal De Etrées. They rode at anchor in ſuch diſorder, that the earl of Sandwich repreſented to the duke the danger of their being attacked in that poſture; but his advice was neglected, and the anſwer he received was ſuch as implied a ſuſpicion of his courage. Piqued at this reflection, he reſolved, in caſe of an engagement, to conquer or periſh. On the twenty-eighth day of May, the Dutch admiral bore down upon them ſo ſuddenly, that they were obliged to cut their cables with the utmoſt precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole fleet was in ſuch confuſion, that the ſhips ran foul of one another. The earl of Sandwich made haſte to weather the headland, and oppoſed himſelf to the enemy that the duke might have time to reduce the reſt of the fleet into order. He ſuſtained a moſt furious attack from the braveſt of the enemy. He repulſed the ſhip of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement: he deſtroyed another large ſhip which attempted to board him; he ſunk three fireſhips before they were near enough to grapple with his rigging. Though ſix hundred of his men were either killed or wounded, and his ſhip was dreadfully ſhattered by the ſhot of the enemy, he ſtill continued to ply his artillery without ceaſing, until another fireſhip ran him aboard on the quarter. Even then he might have eſcaped into another veſſel; but the duke's A. C. 1672.

A.C. 1672. duke's ſarcaſm had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he choſe rather to die than ſurvive the loſs of his ſhip, which, being blown up, he and every perſon on board were deſtroyed. In the mean time the duke of York was attacked by De Ruyter; and they engaged each other ſo cloſe for two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared this was the moſt obſtinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ſhip being diſabled, he was obliged to move his flag on board of another, and his diviſion was in danger of being overpowered; when Sir Joſeph Jordon who ſucceeded Sandwich, came to his aſſiſtance. The battle being thus reſtored, continued till night, when the Dutch retired. Victory declared for neither ſide, though it was claimed by both nations. The French ſquadron was very little engaged; and, in all probability, the marechal De Etrées had orders to keep off, that the two maritime powers might deſtroy one another.

Progreſs of the French king in the United Provinces.

Lewis had by this time invaded the territories of the States-general on the ſide of Germany. He paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet, reduced Orſoi, Burck, Weſel, Emerick, and Rhinbeg, almoſt without oppoſition. Then he advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which his horſe paſſed by ſwimming, while his infantry croſſed it in boats; and a few Dutch regiments that appeared on the other ſide, retired with precipitation. Marechal De Turenne took the ſtrong fort of Skink in a few days; Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, ſurrendered to him at the firſt ſummons. Lewis entered Doerbourg without reſiſtance: his forces reduced Harderwick, Amerſfert, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, and Woerden. Marechal Luxembourg, with the troops of Munſter, poſſeſſed himſelf of Groll and Deventer. Utrecht ſent deputies with offers

offers of submission to the French king. The marquis of Rochefort surprised Naerden, within three leagues of Amsterdam. Fourteen stragglers appearing before Muyden, received the keys of the town from the magistrates; but the castle was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the drawbridge, and the French stragglers were afterwards expelled: the cannon of this fortress commands the entrance to the harbour of Amsterdam. The prince of Orange, at the head of his raw discouraged troops, was obliged to retreat into the province of Holland before the victorious enemy, whose rapid progress overwhelmed the people with consternation and despair. Lewis had now subdued the three provinces of Guelderland, Overyssel, and Utrecht, and threatened the rest with immediate subjection. The populace, and all those who had opposed the Louvestein party, instead of exerting themselves for the preservation of their liberties, exclaimed against the pensionary, for having neglected the means of defence. They reviled him as the partizan of France; the author of all their calamities; and looked upon the young prince of Orange as the only person who could save them from destruction. In the midst of this despondence, the magistrates of Amsterdam acted up to the noble example of their ancestors: they obliged the burgesses to keep watch and ward; the people were armed and regularly paid; some useless ships were repaired, and furnished with artillery for the defence of the city; and the sluices being opened, the whole neighbourhood was laid under water. The other towns followed their example; so that the whole province of Holland was overflowed. A. C. 1672.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the nobles were still so much influenced by their fears, that when the states met to deliberate upon the deplorable situation of the commonwealth, they voted that, The severe terms prescribed by Lewis.

A. C. 1672 that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereign power, could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould be ſurrendered to the conqueror. Amſterdam declared againſt treating with the foe; but this oppoſition being over-ruled, they ſent ambaſſadors to deprecate the wrath, and implore the compaſſion of the French and Engliſh monarchs. They offered to cede Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns lying without the limits of the ſeven provinces, to Lewis, and accommodate him with a large ſum to defray the expence of the war. The French king demanded that the commodities of France ſhould be imported duty-free into Holland; that the ſtates would permit the free exerciſe of the catholic religion, ſhare the churches between them and the proteſtants, and appoint regular ſalaries for their prieſts; that they ſhould cede to him all the frontier towns of the republic, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, part of Guelderland, the iſles of Bommel and Voorn, and the forts of St. Andrew, Louveſtein, and Crevecœur; that they ſhould pay twenty millions of livres for the expence of the war; ſend a yearly embaſſy to Paris, with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment that to him they owed the preſervation of that liberty which his predeceſſors had enabled their ſtates to acquire; that they ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to the king of England; and, within ten days, ſignify their aſſent to theſe propoſals: in which caſe he would evacuate his conqueſts.

Their envoys diſpatched to London met with a very harſh reception from the court, though they excited the compaſſion of the people. Charles himſelf began to be uneaſy at the rapid progreſs of his ally. He foreſaw that the entire conqueſt of Holland would be a formidable acceſſion of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his intereſt to leave the king of England

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in dependence upon his ſubjects: beſides, he was eager to ſhare the ſpoils of the Dutch republic. He diſmiſſed their ambaſſadors, and ſent the duke of Buckingham, with the earls of Arlington and Hallifax, to negotiate with Lewis on the preſent poſture of affairs. They repaired to Utrecht, where the French king reſided with his court. renewed the league between him and Charles, and inſerted a clauſe, that no peace ſhould be made with Holland, but by common conſent. Then they produced their maſter's demands upon the ſtates, importing, that the Dutch ſhould do honour to the Engliſh flag, without any limitation; baniſh all the king's enemies and calumniators; pay a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, as well as ten thouſand pounds yearly for liberty to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas; ſhare the trade of the Eaſt Indies; inveſt the prince of Orange with the hereditary dignity of ſtadtholder; and deliver into the king's hands the iſles of Walcheren, Cadſant, Gorée, and Voorn, together with the town and caſtle of Sluys, as ſecurity for the performance of articles. A.C. 1672. Demands of the Engliſh.

Theſe cruel demands reduced the people of Holland to deſpair. The Orange faction took this opportunity to inflame their reſentment againſt the penſionary and his brother, who became the objects of popular hatred and execration. They demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged upon oath, that they would never acknowledge the prince of Orange as ſtadtholder. The two brothers ſtill continued to oppoſe the repeal, from motives of true patriotiſm. At length the populace broke through all reſtraint. By an inſurrection at Dort, the burgomaſters were compelled to ſign a repeal of the edict. The people at Amſterdam, Rotterdam, Middleburgh, and the Hague, roſe in arms againſt their magiſtrates, and obliged them to declare in favour of the prince of Orange. The prince of Orange declared ſtadtholder.

A. C. 1672 John De Wit had been aſſaulted, and left ſeemingly dead upon the ſtreet; his brother Cornelius was beſet by ruffians in his own houſe at Dort; and, being ſick, was with great difficulty protected by his ſervants: the gallant De Ruyter was inſulted in the ſame manner at Amſterdam. Cornelius De Wit was accuſed by an infamous barber of a deſign againſt the life of the prince of Orange. Though the charge was improbable and abſurd, the multitude howled for juſtice; and his judges, intimidated by their clamour, condemned him to the torture. This he endured with unſhaken fortitude, proteſting his innocence; and, between whiles, repeating the beautiful ode of Horace, beginning with "Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum." He was, nevertheleſs, deprived of his offices, and underwent the ſentence of baniſhment. The penſionary reſolved to accompany him in his exile, and repaired to the priſon where he lay, in order to conſole him in his adverſity. The baſe-born multitude aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, broke down the priſon-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embrued their ſavage hands in the blood of thoſe virtuous patriots, who had deſerved ſo well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the moſt barbarous indignity.

The two brothers, John and Cornelius De Wit, murdered by the populace.

By the unworthy fate of thoſe two ſons of liberty, the prince of Orange acquired the whole adminiſtration of Holland and Zealand: the young prince, John Caſimer, of Naſſau, now under the guardianſhip of his mother, was ſtadtholder of Friezland and Groningen; and the other three provinces were in the hands of the enemy. Lewis no ſooner underſtood that the prince of Orange was elevated to the dignity of ſtadtholder, than he attempted to bribe him over to his intereſt, by offering to make him ſovereign of Holland; but he rejected the propoſal with diſdain. The duke of Buckingham, viſiting

Fortitude and wiſe conduct of the ſtadtholder.

viſiting this young prince on his return to England from Utrecht, exhorted him to put himſelf wholly under the protection of his uncle the king of England. When he expreſſed a regard for his country, the duke ſaid, "You ſee your country is already "loſt." "There is one way (replied the prince) "of avoiding ſuch a ſight; and that is, to die in "the laſt ditch." The ſtadtholder was naturally phlegmatic, reſerved, and thoughtful, well acquainted with the ſtrength and intereſt of his country. To the care of John De Wit, the profeſſed enemy of his greatneſs, he owed a liberal education: he poſſeſſed a great ſhare of courage and fortitude, and was extremely tenacious of his purpoſe. At an extraordinary aſſembly of the ſtates, he, in a ſpeech that laſted three hours, repreſented the pernicious conſequences of accepting the terms propoſed by the king of France; encouraged them with ſolid reaſons to hope that they ſhould ſtill be able to defend their liberties; demonſtrated the poſſibility of raiſing money to defray the enormous expence of ſuch a war; and concluded with ſaying, that religion and liberty could not be purchaſed at too dear a price. The ſtates liſtened to him with amazement: they were aſtoniſhed at the extent of his knowledge, and the ſolidity of his arguments: they were animated by the ſpirit of their young ſtadtholder. That grief and dejection, which had ſo long appeared in their countenances now vaniſhed; they recovered the faculty of recollection, which ſeemed to have been buried under their misfortunes; and began to exert themſelves with vigour in defence of their country. A. C. 1672.

Lewis, ſeeing a ſtop put to his conqueſts by the inundation of Holland, left the duke of Luxemburgh at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he haſtened to Paris, where he was received with more fulſome adulation than had ever been Divers powers declare in favour of the Dutch.

A. C. 1672 paid to any European prince since the dissolution of the Roman empire. The passage of the Rhine, which he had beheld at a wary distance, and which his troops had performed almost without opposition, was celebrated in prose and verse, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in passing the Granicus; and the epithet of "Great" was bestowed upon him by the servile flattery of his subjects, though he had not the least ingredient of heroism in his whole composition. He was on this occasion accompanied by the duke of Monmouth, who commanded six thousand English auxiliaries, that reinforced Lewis in consequence of the treaty between the two monarchs. All the neutral powers in Europe were alarmed at the rapidity of the French conquests, well knowing how formidable Lewis would become by the reduction of Holland. The emperor, and some other princes in Germany, promised to espouse the cause of the Dutch. Spain sent a body of troops to their assistance; and the prince of Orange made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of looking the enemy in the face. The bishop of Munster was obliged to abandon the siege of Groningen with loss and dishonour. The stadtholder made an attempt upon Naerden; but Luxemburgh, attacking his intrenchments by surprize, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Proceedings of the English parliament.

The chief hope of the Dutch centered in the English parliament, which they believed would open its eyes to the real interest of the kingdom, and take measures for putting an end to a war so opposite to the advantage of their country: but, in this hope, they were disappointed by another prorogation. Charles, resolving to make new levies, thought proper to keep the exchequer still shut; though the time was elapsed, at the expiration of which he had faithfully promised it should be opened. He excused himself, however, in a proclamation, observing,

Burnet. Temple. Rapin.

ſerving, that the war ſtill continued, though he had done all that lay in his power to promote a pacification. Sir Henry Coventry was now appointed ſecretary of ſtate; lord Clifford rewarded with the treaſurer's ſtaff, and the dignity of duke conferred upon Lauderdale; ſo that the cabal ſeemed to triumph in their councils, and ſecurely enjoyed their penſions from France, the infamous wages of treachery and corruption. A. C. 1672. A. C. 1673. At length the parliament reaſſembled in the beginning of February; and, at the recommendation of the court, choſe Sir John Charleton their ſpeaker, Turner, who hitherto poſſeſſed the chair, having been created a baron of the exchequer. The king, in his ſpeech, having mentioned the war, and referred them to the declaration for the cauſes and neceſſity of that meaſure, obſerved that his indulgence in favour of the nonconformiſts had produced a very good effect, in ſecuring the peace of the kingdom. He ſaid, the favour granted to catholicks was as little as he could ſhew, conſidering their ſervices and fidelity to him and his father: he told them plainly, that he ſhould take all ſorts of contradiction in evil part, and was determined to ſupport his declaration on that ſubject. He took notice of a ſuſpicion he had incurred, of having levied land-forces to controul the laws and invade the property of the ſubjects: he declared there was a neceſſity for having a greater number for the next campaign; therefore he hoped they would take that circumſtance into conſideration. He concluded with an aſſurance that he would maintain the true proteſtant religion as eſtabliſhed in the church of England; and that the liberty and property of his ſubjects ſhould be preſerved inviolate. The earl of Shaftſbury, as lord chancellor, enlarged upon the ſame ſubjects, in a long ſpeech replete with the moſt impudent falſhoods, the moſt palpable abſurdity, and the groſſeſt

A. C. 1673. adulation. He asserted that this was the parliament's war, undertaken by their advice against an insolent people, who aimed at universal empire; a nation whose existence was incompatible with the interest of Great-Britain; "they must be exterminated (said he) Delenda est Carthago. If "you suffer them to rise again, remember that the "states of Holland are the perpetual enemies of "England, both from interest and inclination." He extolled the king as the best prince that ever sat upon the throne; as the restorer of liberty and the English church, for which his father had suffered; in which he himself had been born and educated; and to which he had adhered in his greatest distress with the most scrupulous attachment, notwithstanding the great offers by which he was tempted to renounce his religion. He recommended a supply to their serious consideration, desiring that it might be speedy and effectual. He concluded with these words, "Let us bless God and the king, that our "religion is safe; that the church is committed to "the care of a prince, from whom we have no-"thing to fear for our parliaments, liberties, and "property. What more can a good Englishman "ask, except that God will be pleased to grant his ma-"jesty a long and happy reign; and that the triple "alliance between king, parliament, and people, "may never be broken or impaired." The commons, instead of complying with the measures of the king, began the session by vindicating their own privileges. The chancellor had issued writs for filling the vacant seats in parliament, and new members had been elected; but now the house voted those writs and elections illegal, and the new members were expelled. The commons were extremely dissatisfied with the king's conduct: they disapproved of the war, and resolved to demand that the grievances of the nation should be redressed: but that

that they might not be ſuſpected of diſaffection or unſeaſonable reſentment, they voted a tax of twenty thouſand pounds per month, for eighteen months, to anſwer the king's extraordinary occaſions. But they did not even mention the war, and reſolved that the money-bill ſhould go hand in hand with the redreſs of grievances. They preſented an addreſs againſt the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience, obſerving that the penal laws could not be ſuſpended but by act of parliament; and beſeeching his majeſty to remove all doubts and fears from the hearts of his faithful ſubjects. He anſwered, that he was ſorry a ſtep he had taken for the peace of the kingdom ſhould produce any uneaſineſs in the houſe of commons, or give them cauſe to call in queſtion his undoubted power in eccleſiaſtical matters, which he ſhould never have thought of uſing, but for the advantage of his ſubjects. He declared his intention was not to invade or renounce the advice of his parliament; and, that if they would prepare a bill for the ſame purpoſes, that ſhould be more effectual for preſerving the tranquillity of church and ſtate, and preſent it in a ſuitable manner, he would convince them of his readineſs to concur with every meaſure that ſhould be judged neceſſary for the benefit of the kingdom. In another addreſs, the commons gave him to underſtand, that his anſwer was not ſufficient to remove their fears and ſuſpicions, ariſing from his arrogating a power of diſpenſing with penal laws: a power, which they ſaid his predeceſſors had never pretended to exerciſe: a claim, by which he might interrupt the courſe of the laws, and change the whole legiſlative power, reſiding in the king and the two houſes of parliament; they therefore implored a more clear and ſatisfactory anſwer. He replied, it was an affair of conſequence, and he would take time to conſider their addreſs. Charleton, the ſpeaker, deſiring to reſign A. C. 1673.

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A.C. 1673. the chair, on account of his ill ſtate of health, was ſucceeded by Sir Edward Seymour.

The presbyterians oppoſe the declaration for liberty of conſcience.

The cabal had miſreckoned on the intereſt of the preſbyterians, which they thought to ſecure by the declaration of indulgence. That ſect perceived the drift of the court was, under ſhelter of them, to favour the Roman-catholics; that the miniſtry purſued arbitrary meaſures; that the king had involved the nation in an unjuſt and expenſive war with their natural allies, and aſſembled an army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of London, in all probability to over-awe the deliberations of the parliament. Alderman Love, one of the chiefs of the preſbyterian party, ſpoke in the houſe with great ſpirit againſt the declaration; and his diſintereſted behaviour on this occaſion made ſuch impreſſion on the commons, that they brought in a bill for the relief of proteſtant nonconformiſts. It paſſed the lower houſe without oppoſition; but the lords propoſed ſome amendments, with which the commons would not comply; and, before the affair could be compromiſed, the king prorogued the parliament. In the mean time, the lords and commons joined in an addreſs againſt the Roman catholics, deſiring that the laws might be rigorouſly executed againſt prieſts and jeſuits: that all officers and perſons in public employments in the army, ſhould take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receive the communion according to the form of the church of England. He publiſhed a proclamation according to cuſtom; but this did not ſatisfy the commons, who reſolved to prepare a bill that ſhould effectually remedy the evil of which they complained; and they were determined againſt paſſing the ſupplies, until the declaration for liberty of conſcience ſhould be recalled.

Charles now found his affairs at a very delicate criſis: the queſtion was, whether he ſhould pull off the

the maſk, and break with his parliament, or ſacri- A. C. 1673.
fice his prerogative, and own himſelf dependent upon their power and affection. The cabal were divided in opinion. The majority adviſed him to ſhake off all reſtraint, and avail himſelf of the army which lay encamped on Black-heath, under the command of Schomberg, a German proteſtant, of great reputation in war. Lauderdale undertook to bring a ſtrong body of forces from Scotland, to aſſiſt in ſubduing the parliament. Buckingham offered to ſeize thoſe members of the lower houſe who oppoſed the court-meaſures. The ſame violent counſels were eſpouſed by Shaftſbury and Clifford: but Arlington, from a timorous temper, was for more moderate meaſures. The French king exhorted Charles to make peace with the parliament, as he could not of himſelf maintain the whole war. The concubines, afraid of ſuffering in the general confuſion that would enſue, importuned him to embrace pacific meaſures; and this conduct being the beſt ſuited to his own indolent and unwarlike diſpoſition, he reſolved to gratify the commons. Shaftſbury perceiving the king's want of reſolution, began to dread a parliamentary inquiry; from the danger of which, that he might ſkreen himſelf in time, he in the moſt abrupt manner, entered into all the violence of the oppoſition. He was received with open arms by the chiefs of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Country Party: they knew his ſtrength, and triumphed in the acquiſition. He now preſſed the king to a compliance with the parliament; and Charles, ſending for the declaration, broke the ſeal with his own hand. On the eighth day of March, he repaired to the houſe of peers, where he deſired the commons to diſpatch the buſineſs of the ſupply; and aſſured them, that he would grant his aſſent

The king rejects violent counſels.

A. C. 1673. assent to every bill calculated to redress their grievances.

The parliament pass the test-act.

The two houses were so well pleased with this assurance, that they went in a body to thank his majesty for his most gracious declaration. Nevertheless, they soon passed the famous test-act, importing, That every person in office or employment, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; receive the sacrament in some parish-church before competent witnesses, and subscribe a declaration, renouncing all belief of the real presence in the eucharist. They likewise brought in another bill for preventing marriages between protestants and papists: this was levelled against a match now in agitation between the duke of York and the archdutchess of Inspruck. Then the commons presented two addresses upon grievances; one relating to England, and the other to Ireland. In the first, they demanded that a new duty laid upon coals, by order of council, should be suppressed; that soldiers should not be quartered in private houses; that the forces should be disbanded at the conclusion of the war; and that the practice of pressing men into the service should be discontinued. The petition concerning Ireland related chiefly to religious grievances; but, among other articles, they requested that colonel Richard Talbot, agent for the catholics in that kingdom, should be divested of all employment, civil or military, and be denied access to his majesty's person. The king made a favourable answer; and then the money bill passed without opposition. When the test-act received the royal assent, a bill of indemnity likewise passed to screen the ministers from all inquiry: then the catholic officers quitted their employments; the duke of York resigned the lucrative office of lord-high-admiral; and lord Clifford gave up his treasurers-

surers-staff, which was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards created earl of Danby. A. C. 1673.

Prince Rupert being appointed admiral of the fleet, began to make preparations for going to sea, but was thwarted by his captains, who were generally devoted to the duke, and resented his dismission: Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory acted as inferior admirals. Having been joined by the French squadron under D'Etrées, they steered towards the coasts of Holland, to the number of one hundred and forty sail, comprehending frigates and fireships, and, on the twenty-eighth day of May, attacked the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, near Schoenvelt; but neither side had cause to boast of the victory. The enemy retired into their own harbours, and used such diligence in refitting their ships, that in a week they again presented themselves to the combined fleets of England and France. On the fourteenth of June they met off Flushing, where they cannonaded one another without coming to a close engagement, and were parted by tempestuous weather before any considerable damage was done on either side. Prince Rupert was averse to the war, and for that reason perhaps acted with the less activity. The duke still influenced the conduct of the admiralty; and, from private pique to prince Rupert, kept the fleet in continual want of necessaries and provision; so that he was obliged to return into harbour to be supplied. He was no sooner in condition to go to sea, than he steered his course to the Texel; and, on the eleventh day of August, fell in with the Dutch fleet, commanded by De Ruyter and Tromp, who were now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the prince of Orange. When the action began, De Ruyter singled out prince Rupert; Tromp opposed himself to Sir Edward Spragge; and Brankert, their rear-admiral, bore up to the marechal D'Etrées.

Three engagements between the English and Dutch fleets.

A. C. 1673. rées. This battle was fought with ſurpriſing emulation by the Engliſh and Dutch officers; but the French kept aloof, in ſuch a manner, that Brankert ſhot a-head to the aſſiſtance of De Ruyter; and prince Rupert being ſeparated from the diviſion of Sir John Chichely, was quite ſurrounded by the enemy, and expoſed to a moſt dreadful fire. He fought with his uſual courage, and manifeſted ſuch conduct as he had never diſplayed before. He diſengaged himſelf with wonderful dexterity; and, joining Chichely, bore down to the aſſiſtance of Spragge, who was almoſt overpowered by Tromp and his ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which he fought, was ſhattered in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to ſhift his flag to the St. George; Tromp for the ſame reaſon moved from the Golden Lion to the Comet; and the action was renewed with redoubled violence, until the St. George was quite diſabled: then Spragge took to his boat, in order to hoiſt his flag on board of another ſhip; but the pinnace being ſunk by a cannon-ball, this gallant officer periſhed. The earl of Offory diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary valour and perſeverance; but, after the death of Spragge, he found himſelf hard preſſed by the enemy. Prince Rupert perceiving that whole diviſion almoſt totally diſabled, ſent three fireſhips among the Dutch fleet, which was likewiſe greatly damaged; and made ſignal for the French ſquadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed this order, while the enemy were in confuſion, occaſioned by the fireſhips, in all probability the Engliſh would have obtained a complete victory. But the French marechal paid no regard to the ſignal; and the majority of the Engliſh ſhips had been ſo roughly handled, that the prince could not purſue his advantage: he therefore collected his ſtraggled ſhips, and hauled off to the Engliſh ſhore, leaving the victory undecided.

The

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, a congreſs was opened at Cologn; but the two monarchs inſiſted nearly on the terms which they had already impoſed; and the ſtates having recollected themſelves from their panic, ſunk every day in their offers, as their affairs began to aſſume a more favourable aſpect. Spain and France had come to an open rupture: the emperor had declared in their favour, and ſent an army into the field, under the command of the famous Montecuculi, who found means to baffle the vigilance of Turenne, and, by a ſudden march, inveſted Bonne on the Upper Rhine, before the marechal was aware of his deſign. The prince of Orange having taken Naerdin, and, by the moſt artful conduct, left all the French generals behind him, joined the Imperialiſts, and Bonne ſurrendered in a few days. They reduced ſeveral other places in the electorate of Cologn: and the communication between France and the United Provinces being cut off, Lewis abandoned all his conqueſts, except Maeſtricht, which he had taken during this campaign. The Dutch ambaſſadors at the congreſs now talked in very lofty terms; and thoſe of France and England retired from Cologn, on pretence of the violence offered to the count de Furſtenberg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologn. This nobleman was apprehended by order of the emperor, as a ſubject of the empire, who had betrayed his country; and the two kings refuſed to treat until he ſhould be ſet at liberty. A. C. 1673. Progreſs of the war on the continent.

The emperor, in another inſtance, manifeſted his contempt for the king of England and his concerns. Propoſals had been made for a marriage between the duke of York and a princeſs of the Inſpruck branch of the houſe of Auſtria: but the emperor becoming a widower in the courſe of this year, eſpouſed the lady; and the duke of York was obliged to turn his eyes to another quarter. He now Match between the duke of York and the princeſs of Modena.

pitched

A. C. 1673. pitched upon Mary, ſiſter of Francis duke of Modena, whom Lewis XIV. declared an adopted daughter of France; engaging at the ſame time to pay her portion. The propoſal was immediately accepted, and the marriage ſolemnized by proxy; the earl of Peterborough repreſenting the duke's perſon. The commons meeting after a prorogation, petitioned the king that he would prevent the match between the duke and the princeſs of Modena; and take care that his brother ſhould marry no lady of the catholic perſuaſion. To this addreſs the king replied, that the duke's marriage was already conſummated by proxy; and that he could not ſuppoſe it would be diſagreeable to the commons, as they had never expreſſed the leaſt diſſatisfaction at the propoſal of the other match between his brother and a catholic princeſs, which had been ſo long in agitation.

Againſt which the commons remonſtrate.

The houſe was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and reſolved to preſent another addreſs, containing their reaſons for oppoſing the marriage. Charles, in a ſpeech to the parliament, had mentioned the congreſs at Cologn; giving them to underſtand, that his ambaſſadors had been treated with contempt by thoſe of the States general, who ſeemed averſe to all reaſonable terms of accommodation. He therefore demanded a ſpeedy ſupply for the maintenance of the war; deſired they would diſcharge the debt he had contracted with the bankers and goldſmiths, who were ruined by his ſtopping payment at the exchequer; and he promiſed to maintain the religion, liberty, and property of his ſubjects. The chancellor expatiated upon the ſame topics; but neither his eloquence, nor the king's importunity, made the leaſt impreſſion upon the commons. They adjourned the houſe, and afterwards began to take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration. In a committee of the whole houſe, they

they reſolved, That no ſupply ſhould be granted to the king, nor any impoſition laid upon the ſubjects, before the final payment of the laſt aid, amounting to one million two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds; nor until the kingdom ſhould be ſecured againſt the deſigns of popery, and all the national grievances redreſſed; unleſs the obſtinacy of the Dutch, in refuſing reaſonable terms of peace, ſhould render ſuch ſupply neceſſary for the defence of the nation. At the ſame time, they petitioned for a general faſt, as if the kingdom had been in imminent danger. A. C. 1673.

Second addreſs againſt the duke's marriage.

Then the houſe went in a body to the king, with a ſecond addreſs againſt the duke's marriage. They repreſented that it would produce doubts, diſquiets, and diſſatisfaction in the minds of the people, and probably engage his majeſty in alliances prejudicial to the proteſtant religion; that it would increaſe the number of prieſts and jeſuits in England, and revive the hopes of the catholic party; that it would diminiſh the people's affection for his royal highneſs; that the princeſs of Modena having ſo many relations at the court of Rome, this marriage would furniſh them with means to penetrate into his majeſty's moſt ſecret councils; and, as matches concluded by proxy had been often diſſolved, they intreated him to prevent the actual conſummation of this marriage, the duke being the preſumptive heir of the crown.

Vigorous oppoſition of the commons.

Charles was extremely ſhocked at theſe vigorous proceedings of the commons, and told them, he would conſider their addreſs. Mean while they voted that the land-army was a grievance and a burden to the nation; and began to prepare a third addreſs on that ſubject. On the fourth day of November, the king came ſuddenly to the upper houſe, and ſent for the commons. The uſher of the black rod and the ſpeaker arrived at the

A. C. 1673. same time at the house of commons; but the first had no sooner entered, than the door was shut upon the usher. Then the commons immediately voted, That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king were grievances; and that, in particular, the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance. Mean while the usher continued knocking at the door; the speaker leaped from the chair before the votes could be collected, and the house rose in the utmost confusion. The king, in a very short speech, represented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the least appearance of dissension between him and his parliament: he declared he had exerted his utmost care in preventing the growth of popery; and prorogued them to the seventh day of January. He deprived the earl of Shaftsbury of his office, and Sir Heneage Finch was created keeper of the great seal. He removed all popish recusants from his court; and issued a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against papists. The princess of Modena arriving in England with her mother, her marriage with the duke of York was consummated on the twenty-first day of November.

Burnet. Rapin. Ralph. Hume.

A. C. 1674. When the parliament re-assembled, the king told them, that the States-general sought only to amuse him with vague overtures of peace: that their sole hope centered in a disunion between him and his parliament; that the best way of obtaining a good peace was to equip a good fleet; that a good fleet could not be equipped without money; and that therefore he expected a speedy and proportionable supply, granted with good-will and affection. Charles had now lost all credit with his parliament: they were aware of his dangerous designs; they resolved to prevent the execution of those plans of arbitrary power which he had projected; and seriously

They proceed against some members of the cabal.

riouſly deliberated on the grievances of the nation. A. C. 1674.
The lords, in an addreſs, petitioned that all papiſts might be ordered to quit London and Weſtminſter, during the ſeſſion of parliament; and he publiſhed a proclamation for that purpoſe. Next day the two houſes joined in another addreſs, deſiring he would ordain a day of faſting and humiliation, to implore the protection of God againſt the efforts of popery; and the king complied with their requeſt. The commons preſented a third addreſs, deſiring that the militia of London, Weſtminſter, and the whole kingdom, might be ready at an hour's warning, to oppoſe any inſurrections that might be excited by papiſts or other malcontents. The king aſſured them that he would provide for the ſafety of their lives, liberties, and privileges. They voted, That the king ſhould be intreated to remove the duke of Lauderdale for ever from his perſon and council, as a dangerous and ſuſpected perſon. The duke of Buckingham underſtanding that he would be the next victim, deſired and obtained a hearing before the houſe. On the firſt day he was ſo diſordered, that he pretended to be taken ill, and withdrew. At his ſecond appearance, he ſeemed more compoſed. He endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct; imputed all the evil counſels to the earl of Arlington, and dropped ſome ſevere inſinuations againſt the king and his brother *. The commons deſired he would anſwer a ſet of queries, which they prepared, in relation to ſome arbitrary ſteps of the government; but they were not ſatisfied either with his anſwers or defence; and therefore he underwent the fate of Lauderdale. Arlington was likewiſe heard in his own juſtification, and

* He ſaid hunting was a good diverſion; but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobſters he would have but ill ſport. By this ſarcaſm he loſt the king's favour, which he never perfectly recovered in the ſequel.

A. C. 1674. excuſed himſelf ſo well, that, although an impeachment was prepared againſt him, they dropped the proſecution.

Charles now perceiving that it would be impoſſible to maintain the war which was ſo diſagreeable to the parliament, began to liſten to the terms which the States-general had propoſed to him in private for a ſeparate peace. They wrote a ſubmiſſive letter, to be delivered by the marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh envoy at London, whom they impowered to conclude a treaty with him in their name, on certain conditions ſpecified in his credentials. Charles, to make a virtue of neceſſity, communicated thoſe propoſals to the two houſes; and demanded the advice of his parliament. They exhorted him to put an end to the war: the conferences were begun with the marquis de Freſno; and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with theſe additions, That they ſhould compliment the Engliſh flag whether in large fleets or in ſingle veſſels; and pay about three hundred thouſand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of his armaments.

Peace with the Dutch.

Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they ſtill continued to examine grievances. They inſiſted upon the king's diſbanding his land forces and guards: they appointed a committee to conſider the militia-law paſſed in the Scottiſh parliament, authoriſing the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to inquire into the ſtate of Ireland, with reſpect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the Habeas corpus; and

The king prorogues the parliament.

and brought in another, obliging the members of both houſes to take the teſt-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this ſpirit of ſeverity; but he rendered theſe meaſures ineffectual by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himſelf from all foreign and domeſtic diſputes, relapſed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleaſure. A. C. 1674.

The king of France expreſſed no reſentment at his being abandoned in this clandeſtine manner by his ally: on the contrary, he frankly accepted the proffered mediation of Charles, from which he had reaſon to hope for favour and indulgence, conſidering that he, at this time, obliged the Engliſh monarch with a yearly penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides, the ſucceſs of the war had not been anſwerable to the ſanguine hopes of Lewis: and his enemies had multiplied into a formidable alliance. The prince of Orange had advanced into Flanders with a numerous army well diſciplined, and endeavoured to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; but he cautiouſly avoided an engagement, becauſe he was inferior in number, till at length the ſtadtholder expoſed a wing of his army at Seneffe. The French general did not fail to take advantage of this overſight; and a very obſtinate action enſued. The prince of Orange behaved on this occaſion with equal courage and preſence of mind. He rallied his troops, and led them back to the charge. He attacked the veteran forces of France with ſurpriſing ſpirit and perſeverance; and obliged the prince of Condé to exert all the qualities of a conſummate general. The battle was maintained even by moon-light, till at laſt the darkneſs parted the combatants. The prince of Condé ſaid, the ſtadtholder had acted in every thing like an old general, except in expoſing his perſon too much like a young ſoldier. He then undertook the ſiege of Oudenarde; but at Operations of war on the continent.

A.C. 1674. the enemy's approach he abandoned the enterprize, by the perſuaſion of the Imperial and Spaniſh generals with whom he was joined: but he inveſted and took Grave before the end of the campaign. The French had reconquered Franche Compté; and Turenne was ſuperior to the allies in Alſace. He defeated the duke of Lorrain, and the emperor's general Caprara, at Zintzheim. The Germans had invaded Alſace to the number of ſeventy thouſand. He attacked and routed a body of them at Mulhauſen: he drove the elector of Brandenburgh from Colmar: he obtained a victory over them at Terkheim; and at laſt, obliged them to repaſs the Rhine with damage and diſgrace.

Sir William Temple ſent ambaſſador to Holland, to mediate a peace.

The king of England, that his propoſals of mediation might have the more weight with the States-general, recalled Sir William Temple from his retreat, and ſent him ambaſſador to Holland, where he knew that miniſter was in univerſal eſteem. He found the Dutch very well diſpoſed to peace; but they could not in gratitude deſert their allies, who inſiſted upon proſecuting the war; and the prince of Orange was by this time inflamed with the deſire of military glory. During the campaign he carefully avoided all conference with the Engliſh ambaſſador; and afterwards told him, that until a greater impreſſion could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation †.

Duke of Buckingham diſgraced.

During theſe tranſactions the court of England underwent ſome alterations. Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who had been plenipotentiary at the court of Cologne, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high chamberlain, though he aſpired at the office of treaſurer, which the king had beſtowed upon

† This year was remarkable for the death of two great men; namely, Milton, one of the greateſt geniuſes for epic poetry that ever the world produced; and the earl of Clarendon, who died in the eighth year of his exile, at Rouen in Normandy.

the

HYDE Earl of *CLARENDON.*

the new earl of Danby. This conteſt produced A. C. 1674.
the moſt rancorous animoſity between thoſe two miniſters, who mutually exerted their utmoſt endeavours for the ruin of each other. The duke of Buckingham was diſgraced, and loſt the dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, in which he was ſucceeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had ſignalized his courage in France; and began to be the minion of the people. Lauderdale ſtill kept his ground, by the moſt aſſiduous application to the king's paſſions, and the moſt devoted ſubſerviency to all his extravagant deſigns. Nevertheleſs, he was ſo much intimidated by the vote which had paſſed againſt him in the houſe of commons, that he affected openly to renounce the meaſures of the cabal. He profeſſed uncommon zeal for the proteſtant religion; appeared conſtantly at church; was punctual in receiving the communion; and adviſed the king to put the laws rigorouſly in execution againſt the catholics.

Burnet. Ralph. Temple. Hume.

All theſe arts, however, were incapable of appeaſing the reſentment of the commons. After having prepared a bill at their next meeting, againſt the growth of popery, and the perſons of Roman prieſts, they preſented a long addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, whom they accuſed of having ſaid in council, that the king's edicts ought to be obeyed preferable to the laws of the realm; and of having procured the militia-act in the parliament of Scotland, from which England was continually expoſed to an invaſion, upon the moſt frivolous pretence: they therefore beſought his majeſty to remove him from his preſence and councils for ever. As Charles did not think proper to comply with their requeſt, they reſolved to deliver another petition to the king, for the ſame purpoſe. Then they ſet on foot an inquiry into the conduct of the earl of Danby, whom they reſolved to impeach

A. C. 1675. The commons preſent an addreſs againſt Lauderdale.

A. C. 1675. for having been concerned in a design to render the king absolute; but finding the proofs insufficient, they dropped the accusation. The next step they took, was an address to his majesty, desiring he would recal the English auxiliaries from France; and take effectual methods to prevent his subjects from engaging in that service for the future. He said he could not recal the troops without running the risque of a rupture with his allies; but, he would take care they should not be recruited.

The test-bill brought into the house of lords.

The commons proceeded with such warmth in those maxims of opposition to the court, that many members of the upper house, and especially the bishops, began to dread the revival of the republican spirit. In order to prevent the mischiefs which might be kindled by such a flame, the earl of Lindsey brought into the house of lords a test-bill, for imposing upon all persons in ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy-counsellors, and members of parliament, an oath, renouncing the lawfulness of resisting the king, or those acting under his commission, on any pretence whatsoever; and declaring before God, that they would never attempt to alter the government in church or state. This bill met with such opposition, that the debates upon it continued seventeen days; and then it was carried by a small majority. The earl of Bristol, with the popish as well as several protestant lords, protested against it, and inserted their protest in the journal of the house.

Dispute between the two houses on account of Dr. Shirley.

It would in all probability have produced warmer disputes and more bitter altercation among the commons, had not their attention been diverted by a contest of another nature. One doctor Shirley having been cast in a lawsuit by Sir John Fag a member of the house of commons, appealed from chancery to the house of peers, who took cognizance of the cause, and summoned Sir John

Fag

Fag as respondent. He complained to the lower house, which undertook to defend him. They declared, that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from any court of equity; and committed Shirley to prison. The peers insisted upon their jurisdiction, which they had exercised for a long course of years. Recourse was had to conferences, which proved ineffectual. The commons imprisoned four lawyers who pleaded in this cause before the peers, contrary to an order of the lower house. The lords declared this commitment a breach of the Magna Charta; and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners. Upon his refusal, they petitioned his majesty to punish him for contempt of the house. The king, in a speech to both houses, exhorted them to lay aside their animosity; and finding his advice had no effect upon the commons, prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October. The lower house had voted a supply of three hundred thousand pounds to the king; but at the same time, resolved that the tonnage and poundage should be applied to the maintainance of the navy: he was therefore not a little chagrined to see the bill delayed by the quarrel between the two houses. A. C. 1675.

In opening the next session, he earnestly recommended unanimity, the interests of the English church, and a supply that should be sufficient for building new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to pay his debts; but they granted three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of building twenty ships of a certain rate; and appropriated the tonnage and poundage to the support of the navy. Then they began to resume the subject of grievances with great eagerness and acrimony; when their deliberations were interrupted by the insolence of a French jesuit called father St. Germain. Complaint to the house against St. Germain the jesuit.

A. C. 1675. Germain. He entered the houſe of one Luzancy, a convert to the proteſtant religion; and by threatning to aſſaſſinate or tranſport him to France, extorted a writing, in which he renounced his converſion. A complaint of this violence was brought before the commons by Luzancy, who declared, that the jeſuit had ſaid the king was a catholic in his heart: that the court was endeavouring to procure liberty of conſcience: and that in leſs than two years the majority of the Engliſh people would acknowledge the pope's authority. Luzancy charged him with having dropped ſome other expreſſions of the ſame nature; and added, there was ſuch a number of prieſts and papiſts in London, that a proſelyte could not walk in the ſtreets, without running the riſque of his life. This affair produced ſuch a violent ferment among the commons, that the king, in order to appeaſe them, iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any perſon that ſhould apprehend St. Germain; but he had already eſcaped to the continent.

Revival of the quarrel between the two houſes.

The commons being more and more convinced of the neceſſity for uniting the proteſtants againſt the deſigns of Rome, reſumed a bill they had formerly propoſed for the relief of the preſbyterians: but they were anticipated by the lords. The duke of Buckingham had made a ſpeech againſt perſecution; and obtained a permiſſion to bring in a bill in favour of proteſtant nonconformiſts. Even this was ſtifled in the birth by a revival of the quarrel between the two houſes. The diſpute about privilege became more violent than ever; and it was moved in the upper houſe, that they ſhould petition the king to diſſolve the parliament. This motion was rejected by a majority of two only: however, the king finding it impoſſible to compromiſe

compromise the difference, prorogued them for fifteen months. A. C. 1675.

Charles had paid so little regard to the interests of the nation in his public conduct, and deviated so much from the rules of decency and decorum in his private deportmment; he had dissipated his revenue with such scandalous profusion; and countenanced the catholics so openly, against the sense of the nation, that his government was grown into universal contempt and abhorrence. It was lampooned and libelled in public, and ridiculed in almost every society in the kingdom. He fell particularly under the lash of the politicians. He was so exasperated by the liberties taken with his person and administration, thar he suppressed all the coffee-houses, which were the places where those malcontents used to assemble; and issued a proclamation, promising a reward to those who should discover the authors of libels and pamphlets written against the government. The king suppresses coffee-houses.

The military events of this year were favourable to the allies. Lewis took the field in person, as volunteer in the army commanded by the prince of Condé in Flanders: but he was so narrowly watched by the prince of Orange, that all his conquests on that side were limited to the reduction of Huy and Limbourg. Montecuculi, at the head of the Imperial army, endeavoured to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Lorraine and Burgundy: but he was prevented from executing that scheme by the vigilance of Turenne, who posted himself upon the German side of the river. The most masterly conduct was displayed by both those consummate generals; at length Turenne had reduced the enemy to the necessity of decamping in a few days, at a great disadvantage; but before he could reap the fruits of his ingenuity, he was slain by a cannon-ball, as he rode about viewing the posture of the Death of marshal de Turenne.

A. C. 1675. the Imperialiſts. The death of this truly great man filled the French army with inexpreſſible grief and confuſion. The ſoldiers loved him as their father, and revered him as a being of ſuperior ſpecies: they were therefore inconſolable. Nevertheleſs, his nephew De Lorges, who ſucceeded to the command, made a judicious retreat acroſs the Rhine: yet the ſafety of his army was in a great meaſure owing to the valour of the Engliſh troops that were placed in the rear, and fought the enemy with the moſt deſperate reſolution †. The prince of Condé leaving the command of the forces in Flanders to Luxembourgh, marched with a reinforcement to the army of Turenne, whom he ſucceeded in the command. The Imperialiſts had by this time paſſed the Rhine, and inveſted Hagenau. He compelled them to raiſe the ſiege of this place, as well as that of Saberne. He baffled all their endeavours to bring him to battle. Though they were ſuperior to his army in number, he obliged them to repaſs the river, and take up their winter-quarters in their own country.

A detachment of their army had undertaken the ſiege of Triers; and the marechal Crequi advancing with an army to the relief of the place, was totally routed. He eſcaped with four attendants, and throwing himſelf into the town, reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity. The garriſon, however, made the beſt terms they could obtain; and the marechal refuſing to ſign the capitulation, was ſurrendered as a priſoner to the beſiegers. The Swedes, as allies of France, invaded Pomerania, from whence they were expelled by the elector of Brandenburg, who followed them into their own country, and concerted meaſures with the king of

Temple. Burnet. Rapin. Ralph. Hume.

† John Churchill afterwards duke of Marlborough, ſerved among the auxiliaries in the ſtation of a private captain.

Denmark

Denmark for improving the advantage he had gained. Meſſina in Sicily having revolted from Spain, a French fleet under the duke De Vivonne was ſent to ſupport them in their rebellion. The Dutch ordered De Ruyter to ſail with a ſquadron to the aſſiſtance of their allies; a battle enſued, and that great officer was ſlain, to the irreparable loſs of his country. France, by the amazing efforts of her miniſters, was now become the firſt maritime power in Europe: yet, her ſucceſs in maritime affairs was in a great meaſure owing to the inſtructions ſhe received, and the examples which ſhe imitated, in her ſucceſſive alliances with Holland and England †.

A. C. 1675.

De Ruyter ſlain in an engagement with the French.

All the powers at war having agreed to ſend plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, in order to negotiate a treaty of peace under the mediation of the Engliſh monarch, he, in July, ſent thither lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambaſſadors; and there they found the plenipotentiaries of France and the States-general. Sweden was likewiſe very willing to treat; but the Imperaliſts, Spaniards, and elector of Brandenburg, protracted the time, in hope of gaining further advantages that would induce the French monarch to acquieſce in more equitable terms than they could expect from him in his preſent ſituation. In the month of April, the French troops had taken Condé by aſſault; and the fortreſs of Bouchain was reduced in ſight of the prince of Orange, who found it impracticable to relieve the place. After theſe petty conqueſts,

A. C. 1676.

Progreſs of the war on the continent.

† About this period the duchess of Mazarine having quarrelled with her huſband, arrived in England, where ſhe had well nigh ſupplanted the duchess of Portſmouth in the king's affection. He indulged her with a penſion of four thouſand pounds; and her houſe became the academy of taſte and politeneſs, frequented by the celebrated wits of the age; and among the reſt by the famous St. Evremond, who, like herſelf, was a French refugee

Lewis

A. C. 1676. Lewis returned to Verſailles, leaving the command of his forces to Schomberg, who took Aire, and compelled the prince of Orange to raiſe the ſiege of Maeſtricht, which he had undertaken. On the upper Rhine, the Imperaliſts became maſters of Philipſbourg; and the Swedes were unable to reſiſt the Danes and Brandenburgers in Pomerania.

Congreſs at Nimeguen. The campaign being ended, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the congreſs at Nimeguen, where, at length, all the plenipoteniaries were aſſembled. Lewis was deſirous of dividing the allies, and concluding a ſeparate peace with Holland; and Charles the mediator aſſiſted him in that deſign. Sir William Temple was ordered to treat privately with the States and the prince of Orange on this ſubject. The States ſeemed willing to embrace the propoſal; but the prince refuſed to take any ſtep by which he might have incurred the imputation of having betrayed thoſe allies who had ſo generouſly interpoſed for the preſervation of his country. Perhaps this conſideration was reinforced by the dictates of ambition and revenge. The Spaniards were extremely averſe to peace, on the ſuppoſition that Charles would ſoon open his eyes to the intereſt of England, and declare againſt France, rather than ſee Lewis in poſſeſſion of the Low-countries: but Charles, in ſome caſes, looked upon his own intereſt as a circumſtance widely different from that of his people. He conſidered the bulk of the nation as a ſet of turbulent, unruly, rebellious plebeians, whoſe inſolence and obſtinacy poiſoned all his enjoyments: whereas he regarded Lewis as his affectionate kinſman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. The national animoſity againſt France had been very remarkable during the whole war; but now it was inflamed by the inſolence and rapine of the French privateers, who took

Temple. Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

took the Engliſh and Dutch merchant ſhips without diſtinction. A. C. 1677.

The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, which met in February, proteſted he was ready to grant all the ſecurity in his power for the maintainance of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the people: he recommended harmony between the two houſes, made them acquainted with his neceſſities, and deſired a ſupply that would enable him to make a conſiderable addition to his navy. The commons had no ſooner quitted the houſe of lords, than the duke of Buckingham ſtanding up, undertook to prove that the parliament was diſſolved by the laſt prorogation, in conſequence of a ſtatute made in the reign of Edward III. importing, That a parliament ſhould be held once a year, or oftner, if need be. He ſaid, that acts of parliament were not like women, the worſe for being old: that although the words, "if need be," were ſuppreſſed when the act was renewed, the original ſtatute had never been repealed; nor could the king ſet it aſide without violating Magna Charta. He was ſeconded by the earls of Saliſbury, Shaftſbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but, as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been tranſacted in this parliament, as well as to ſedition and anarchy; thoſe four noblemen were committed to the Tower. Buckingham, Saliſbury, and Wharton, after having been confined ſome months, made their ſubmiſſions to the king, who ordered them to be releaſed. Lord Shaftſbury moved, in the king's bench, that he might be diſcharged: but the court refuſed to take cognizance of the matter. He remained a whole year priſoner, and then made that ſubmiſſion by which he might have obtained his liberty, when the other three lords were diſcharged. The houſe of commons now voted the

The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Saliſbury and Shaftſbury, with lord Wharton, ſent to the Tower.

ſum

A. C. 1677. ſum of five hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to his majeſty, to defray the expence of building thirty ſhips of war: then they preſented an addreſs, deſiring his majeſty would take effectual meaſures for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands. As the king's anſwer was general, they petitioned him again upon the ſame ſubject; adding, that in caſe of a war with France, they would ſupport him with all their power. He gave them to underſtand, that the beſt method for conſulting the ſafety of the kingdom would be to enable him to put it in a proper poſture of defence. They accordingly diſpatched the money-bills, which received the royal aſſent; and then the parliament was adjourned.

The vigour of the commons had been quickened by the ſucceſs of the French in Flanders. In March Lewis took Valenciennes: then dividing his army, he ſent his brother the duke of Orleans to beſiege St. Omer, while he himſelf inveſted Cambray. The prince of Orange marched to the relief of St. Omer, and was defeated by the duke of Orleans and Luxembourg at Montcaſſel, from whence he retired to Ypres. Both towns fell into the hands of the enemy; and all the Spaniſh Netherlands were left expoſed. The commons had exhorted Charles to contract ſuch alliances as would be ſufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch; and he had demanded a ſupply of ſix hundred thouſand pounds. When they met in May, they expected he would impart to them the connections he had made during the adjournment. He had taken no ſuch meaſure; but ſent a meſſage to the houſe by ſecretary Coventry, deſiring they would diſpatch the money-bills, as he intended in a little time to put an end to the ſeſſion. Though they were well enough diſpoſed to grant the money, they inſiſted upon having ſome certainty

Mutual diſtruſt between the king and parliament.

tainty of its being applied to the proper purpoſes; and Charles refuſed to engage in any alliances, until he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the ſupply. He expreſſed an apprehenſion that they intended to involve him in a war with France; and then leave him in the midſt of his difficulties, unleſs he ſhould purchaſe their aſſiſtance by ſome conceſſions to the prejudice of the crown. Perhaps their mutual diſtruſt was not altogether without foundation. In a ſpeech to them at Whitehall, he aſſured them, upon the word of a king, that they ſhould have no cauſe to repent the confidence they might repoſe in him, with reſpect to the ſteps neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. He at the ſame time declared he would not hazard their ſafety and his own, until he ſhould find himſelf in a condition to defend his people and attack their enemies; and he told them it would be their own fault if proper proviſion ſhould not be made for their defence. A. C. 1677.

The oppoſition in the lower houſe was now become too powerful for the court-party, which conſiſted chiefly of needy cavaliers, and men of deſperate fortunes, who received penſions from the government, and devoted themſelves to the moſt arbitrary meaſures of the crown. This infamous practice of corruption was introduced by Clifford: but the intereſt of the miniſtry had been weakened by the diſgrace of Buckingham, and the defection of Shaftſbury. Many members were irritated into oppoſition, by diſappointments in their expectations from the court; and others by the pernicious conduct of the adminiſtration. After very warm debates upon the king's ſpeech, the country-party prevailed, and an addreſs was preſented to the king, importing, That it was not the cuſtom of parliament to grant money for the ſupport of alliances, before the nature of them was known. They intreated him to conclude a league offenſive

The commons exhort him to conclude an alliance with the Dutch againſt the power of France.

A. C. 1677. and defenſive with the States-general of the United Provinces; to curb the growing power of France, and preſerve the Spaniſh Netherlands; and they explained their reaſons for thinking that a war with France was abſolutely neceſſary. Charles, in his anſwer, complained that they had violated his prerogative, by inſiſting upon his engaging in alliance with any power whatſoever. He ſaid the power of making peace and war was a right inherent in the crown, from which he would never recede; and then he ordered them to adjourn to the tenth day of July.

Marriage between the prince of Orange and the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of York.

The earl of Danby, by the ſuggeſtions of Sir William Temple, who had been recalled to England, propoſed a match between the prince of Orange and the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter to the duke of York. She and her ſiſter Anne had been educated in the proteſtant religion, by the king's expreſs command; and the prince of Orange ſeemed to reliſh the proſpect of ſuch a marriage. The king at firſt was neutral, or rather ſeemed averſe to this alliance, which he knew muſt be extremely diſagreeable to his brother: but when Danby repreſented that this marriage would in all probability bring over the prince of Orange entirely to his views, he began to ſee it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to viſit England, after the campaign ſhould be finiſhed. He accordingly arrived in England in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well pleaſed with the character and perſon of Mary, who poſſeſſed many amiable qualities; and made a formal demand of her in marriage. The duke treated him coldly, but declared his ſubmiſſion to the commands of the king, which indeed he always ſcrupulouſly obeyed; and Charles conſented to the match, on condition that he and the prince ſhould firſt agree upon

upon the plan of a pacification. The prince refuſed to treat of a peace, until the marriage ſhould be conſummated. He ſaid, he would not give his allies reaſon to believe that he had purchaſed a wife at their expence; nor was he of a humour to barter his honour for any woman upon earth. He ſaid to Temple, that he heartily repented of his coming to England: he deſired him to tell the king, that he was determined to depart in two days; and that he left it in his majeſty's choice, whether they ſhould live for the future as the beſt friends, or the greateſt enemies. The king was intimidated by the reſolute deportment of his nephew. He knew he was extremely popular in England; and that he had maintained a correſpondence during the laſt war with the chiefs of the Engliſh malcontents. Temple and Danby did not fail to repreſent and exaggerate the pernicious conſequences of a rupture with the prince of Orange; and Charles agreed to the prince's own terms. The portion of the princeſs was fixed at forty thouſand pounds: the marriage-articles were executed: the king declared the match in council: the city of London received the news with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy and approbation: the mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence: and the nuptials were celebrated on the fourth day of November. A. C. 1677.

Charles and the prince agree upon a plan of pacification.

This affair being happily concluded to the general ſatisfaction of the nation, the king and prince entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, at which the duke of York, the earl of Danby, and Sir William Temple aſſiſted. After ſome diſpute they agreed, That Lewis ſhould reſtore all he had wreſted from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine: That there ſhould be a reciprocal reſtitution between France and Holland; and, That Spain ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of Aeth, Oudenarde, Charleory, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes,

A. C. 1677. Valenciennes, Saint-Guillain, and Binch. The prince promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours in perſuading the States-general to accept of theſe conditions, and Charles undertook to recommend them to the French monarch. He declared he would never depart from this plan, but declare war againſt the French king, ſhould he prove refractory; and, with this aſſurance, the prince returned with his bride to Holland. Mr. De Duras, afterwards earl of Feverſham, was ſent as ambaſſador to France, with intimation of this agreement; which, tho' it muſt have been extremely diſagreeable to Lewis, he received without any emotion of reſentment. He ſaid, the king of England knew he might always command a peace; but he thought it was hard to part with ſome of thoſe towns in Flanders, upon the fortifications of which he had expended conſiderable ſums of money: he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but even with regard to theſe, he would ſend inſtructions to Barillon, his ambaſſador at London.

An inglorious private treaty between Charles and the French king.

The French king knew he was maſter of one argument which would always have weight with ſuch a neceſſitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received orders to give up all the towns except Tournay, and even promiſe an equivalent for that, rather than break off the treaty: but that miniſter cajoled the king in ſuch a manner, that his agreement with the prince of Orange was ſoon forgotten, and a negotiation of a very different nature begun. This was no other than a ſtipulation of conditions, in conſideration of which the king of England ſhould forebear from declaring in favour of the allies, notwithſtanding the importunities of his parliament. The treaty was carried on by Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, who demanded two hundred thouſand pounds a year, while

while the war ſhould continue; but Courtin, who reſided in London, prevailed upon Charles to reſt contented with two millions of livres. Montague afterwards received inſtructions from Danby, to inſiſt upon the king's receiving from Lewis ſix hundred thouſand livres annually for three years, after the peace ſhould be ratified; on the ſuppoſition that he could expect no ſupplies from parliament for that period. A. C. 1677. Temple. Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

Charles had prolonged the adjournment, until he ſhould have concluded a new league with Holland, which was ſigned in January. Though this was only a defenſive alliance, to prevent the French king from extending his conqueſts in the Low-Countries, the king thought it would dazzle the eyes of his parliament ſo as to produce wonderful effects in his favour. When they aſſembled in January, he told them he had concluded an alliance with Holland, which could not fail of preſerving Flanders, unleſs the commons ſhould refuſe the neceſſary ſupplies. He ſaid, that finding his endeavours after peace ineffectual, he had recalled his troops from France: that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the nation could not be without ninety ſhips of the line in commiſſion, and an army of thirty thouſand men: that they might take what precautions they ſhould judge proper for appropriating the ſupplies to the purpoſes of the war. He communicated the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange: he demanded an aid proportionable to the neceſſities of the kingdom, and the important deſigns he had projected for the honour and advantage of his people. The commons, inſtead of ſignifying their approbation of his conduct, and their readineſs to acquieſce in his propoſals, petitioned, in an addreſs, That he would not engage in any treaty with France, until ſhe ſhould be reduced to the ſame condition in which Diſputes between the king and parliament.

A. C. 1677. ſhe was at the peace of the Pyrenees: and they gave him to underſtand, that whenever he ſhould be pleaſed to communicate the nature of his alliances to his faithful commons, they would enable him to proſecute the war, or procure an honourable peace. He complained of this addreſs as an invaſion of his prerogative. He told them they were miſtaken if they thought he would give up his undoubted right of making peace and war; but that if once he ſhould be enabled by their means to undertake a war, it ſhould not be finiſhed until he ſhould have procured a ſolid peace for all the powers of Chriſtendom: in the mean time, he obſerved that new alliances could not be contracted without the neceſſary ſupplies, which he therefore recommended to their attention.

The king makes vigorous preparations againſt France.

During theſe diſputes between the king and parliament, the king of France, taking the field early in the ſpring, reduced Ghent and Ypres, and then diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment. This progreſs alarmed the Dutch in ſuch a manner, that they reſolved to conclude a ſeparate peace. Lewis, knowing his own advantage, and that he had nothing to fear from the king of England, talked in the ſtrain of a conqueror, and inſiſted upon terms very different from thoſe which had been planned by Charles and the prince of Orange. In April the chancellor told the two houſes, in the king's name, that the Dutch certainly intended to conclude a ſeparate peace with France; and his majeſty demanded their advice on that ſubject. The commons exhorted him to declare war againſt France: then they voted the alliance with Holland not anſwerable to their addreſs, nor ſufficient for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Charles expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at this vote, notwithſtanding which they preſented another addreſs, deſiring to know the reſolutions he had taken in conſequence

sequence of their advice; that he would pay more attention to their addresses; and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king replied, That he was surprised at the extravagance of their address, to which he would not at present make the answer it deserved. As they had already passed a poll-tax for the service of the year, he began to make levies, which were carried on with such surprising diligence and success, that in six weeks his army of thirty thousand men was completed. The duke of Monmouth was sent over with three thousand to garrison Ostend, a fleet was equipped, and the court breathed nothing but defiance against the French monarch. A. C. 1677.

The States-general, apprised of these preparations, dispatched Van Lewin as their ambassador to London, with instructions to declare, That if the king of England would immediately denounce war against France, they would break off their negotiation with Lewis, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding himself obliged to give a categorical answer, told Sir William Temple, who brought the proposal from the Dutch ambassador, that, seeing the states were contented to accept of the conditions which France had prescribed, and Lewis had offered to purchase with a sum of money his consent to that which he could not prevent, he saw no reason for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore ordered Temple to treat with Barillon, the French ambassador; but Sir William refused to be concerned in such a scandalous negotiation. He found others, however, who undertook the office. The bargain was struck for three hundred thousand pounds; but Barillon afterwards gave him to understand that his master would not pay the money unless he would engage, by a secret article, that he would never maintain an army that should exceed eight thousand men, reckoning the whole

His secret negotiation with Lewis.

A. C. 1677. whole force in his three kingdoms. When this demand was signified to Charles, "Cod's fish (said "he) does my brother of France think to serve me "thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute "master of my people come to this? Or does he "think it a thing to be done with eight thousand "men?" This exclamation plainly proves, that Charles had entertained such a design; though the preparations in which he was now employed seem to have been made with a view to raise the price of his neutrality with the French monarch. At this juncture he certainly held the balance of power in Europe: but he had neither ambition to act as umpire among the princes of Christendom, nor resolution to prosecute any plan of importance; and, with respect to the interests of his country, he was absolutely indifferent. He never exerted himself but in transient efforts, as he chanced to be stimulated by the clamours of his parliament, the importunity of his wants, or the incessant instigation of those who enjoyed his confidence.

The commons pass a bill for disbanding the army.

When the two houses met in May, in vain he had recourse to promises and intreaties. The commons resolved, that should his majesty think proper to declare war against France, they would enable him to maintain it: otherwise they would concert measures for disbanding the army. The king alledged, that Lewis had offered a truce till the twenty-seventh day of July; and until that term should be expired, it would be improper to disband the forces. Notwithstanding this declaration, they voted that the troops levied since the month of September should be dismissed. On the eighteenth day of June, Charles told the two houses, in a speech, that the peace between France, Spain, and Holland, was almost as good as concluded: he said, the Spaniards had positively declared they were not able to bear the expence of maintaining garrisons in

in Flanders, which must be left exposed, unless England would undertake to support the fortifications: he therefore observed, it would be necessary to keep a good fleet at sea; and, in particular, to provide for the safety of Ostend, where otherwise the French might maintain a fleet of forty ships of war, exactly opposite to the mouth of the Thames. If they desired he should live in strict union with his parliament, they would make an addition of three hundred thousand pounds to his revenue, in which case they might bring in a bill for appropriating fifty thousand yearly to the support of the fleet and artillery: then he would be always ready to pass whatever acts should be proposed for the benefit of the nation. Finally, he desired they would remember that he had engaged to pay forty thousand pounds for the portion of the princess Mary: that the first moiety was already due, and demanded by the prince of Orange. This speech had no other effect but that of irritating the commons, who absolutely rejected the proposal touching the augmentation of the revenue. They likewise finished the bill for disbanding the army; granting, however, six hundred thousand pounds for the payment of it. The king having passed it, together with another for an additional tax upon wine for three years; and a third, decreeing that the dead should be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufacture, the parliament was prorogued. A. C. 1677.

New treaty between Charles and the Dutch.

Mean while the States-general negotiated a peace with France for themselves and Spain; and Lewis having agreed to restore Ghent, Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Limbourg, to his most catholic majesty; the Dutch ambassadors received orders to sign the treaty: but when the Spanish ambassador demanded of the French plenipotentiaries at what time those towns should be restored, they

A. C. 1677. they were given to understand that the French king would detain them until the allies should have made restitution of the places they had wrested from the crown of Sweden. This declaration retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Charles was so incensed at this conduct of Lewis, that he forthwith sent Sir William Temple to the Hague, with full power to sign a mutual league with the states, by which the contracting powers obliged themselves to compel France by force of arms to restore the six towns in Flanders. This treaty was concluded in a few days, to the general satisfaction of all those states that dreaded the power and ambition of the French monarch.

Peace of Nimeguen.

This was a vigorous measure, which the king of England had not steadiness enough to support. He sent Du Cros, the Swedish agent at London, with an order to Temple, commanding him to repair forthwith to Nimeguen, and tell the Swedish plenipotentiaries, in his name, that if they would consent to the immediate evacuation of the six places in Flanders, he would, after the conclusion of the peace, employ all his interest in procuring the restitution of the towns which their master had lost during the war. Du Cros no sooner arrived in Holland, then he visited the deputies of the states apart; and not only made them acquainted with the order he had received for Sir William Temple; but assured them, at the same time, that the kings of France and England had already agreed upon a plan of a pacification, from which Charles would never deviate, notwithstanding his last treaty with the States-general. Nevertheless the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen resolutely refused to sign the peace, unless the French king would engage to make immediate restitution of the six towns; and the French ambassadors seemed inflexible till the very last day of the congress, which was the first of August,

Auguſt, when all of a ſudden they deſiſted from their pretenſions, and the treaty was ſigned. This was ſoon followed by an accommodation between France and Spain; and, in a few months, all the confederates enjoyed the benefit of a pacification, except the duke of Lorraine, who was not reſtored to his dominions. A. C. 1677.

The duke of Luxembourg had formed the blockade of Mons, and Lewis endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place ſhould be reduced. Even after the treaty was ſigned, the prince of Orange, who had not yet received a formal intimation of it from the ſtates, marched up to the duke of Luxembourg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and attacked him with great fury at St. Denys, where the French ſuſtained ſome damage. This action was the effect either of ambition or of revenge; for the prince certainly knew that the peace was ſigned at Nimeguen. Battle of St. Denys.

For a courſe of twelve years, Lauderdale had governed Scotland with the moſt cruel and perfidious deſpotiſm; except during a ſmall intermiſſion while the government was in the hands of the earl of Tweddale and Sir Robert Murray, men of moderate principles and diſcretion. Epiſcopacy had been ſettled in that kingdom; but was ſo contrary to the genius of the people, that conventicles multiplied every day. The eſtabliſhed clergy were inſulted; and the covenanters became extremely inſolent and troubleſome, not contented with the indulgence and toleration they enjoyed by the connivance of the government. The two acts procured in the parliament of Scotland, relating to the king's ſupremacy and the militia, rendered Lauderdale as abſolute as any eaſtern emperor. He paſſed other laws againſt nonconformiſts, by virtue of which he fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed the ſubject: ſo that his adminiſtration was a moſt cruel State of affairs in Scotland.

and

A. C. 1677. and perfidious inquiſition, promoted by Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrews. His conduct in civil affairs was equally unjuſt and oppreſſive: he laid reſtrictions upon trade; impoſed heavy duties, and granted monopolies to his own creatures. A party was formed againſt him by the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Tweddale, and ſome other noblemen, who repreſented his iniquity to the king. They were graciouſly received; but Lauderdale ſtill continued in authority. He now gave a looſe to the moſt furious revenge. He influenced the privy-council of that kingdom to convert the houſes of thoſe who had complained of his adminiſtration into garriſons for ſuppreſſing conventicles; and the ſoldiers were encouraged to plunder and deſtroy the effects of thoſe whom they had diſpoſſeſſed. The lawyers of Edinburgh having aſſerted, that appeals to parliament were legal, the king's order was obtained for baniſhing them twelve miles from that city: and the courſe of juſtice was ſtopped for a whole year. Twelve of the chief magiſtrates were declared incapable of public office, for no other crime than that of refuſing the moſt ſervile compliance with the orders of Lauderdale. Individuals were impriſoned in the moſt arbitrary manner, and all employments ſet to ſale. Bonds were impoſed upon the landholders of the weſtern ſhires in which preſbyterianiſm chiefly prevailed, obliging them to be anſwerable in the affair of conventicles, for their ſervants, tenants, and dependents. Becauſe they refuſed to ſign theſe iniquitous obligations, the country was deemed to be in a ſtate of rebellion. Eight thouſand Highlanders, in conſequence of an order of council, were aſſembled by ſome of the chieftains; and theſe being joined by the guards, marched into the Weſt, where they lived at diſcretion for two months, during which they committed every ſpecies of cruelty, rapine, and

and outrage. A great number of preachers and their hearers were "intercommuned;" a ſtep taken in that country previous to outlawry; and, that the cry of the oppreſſed people might not reach the throne, all noblemen and landholders were forbid, under ſevere penalties, to quit the kingdom. Notwithſtanding this injunction by act of council, the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Caſſels and Tweddale repaired to London, and laid the miſerable ſtate of their country before Charles, who iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the bonds and writs of intercommuning; but expreſſed no indignation againſt Lauderdale, who had abuſed his authority. In the abſence of theſe noblemen, the duke was allowed to ſummon a convention of the ſtates; which, in their addreſſes to the king, expreſſed their entire ſatisfaction with Lauderdale's adminiſtration: a ſure mark of the abject ſlavery to which that wretched people were reduced. A.C. 1677. Burnet. Temple. Rapin. Hume.

At this period, the attention of the Engliſh nation was engroſſed by a very remarkable inſtance of villainy and impoſture, that raiſed an univerſal ferment among the people, and operated in defiance of common ſenſe and demonſtration. On the twelfth day of Auguſt, one Kirby a chymiſt, approaching the king in St. James's Park, "Sir (ſaid "he) keep within the company: your enemies "have a deſign upon your life." Being queſtioned farther in conſequence of this ſtrange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two perſons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, had undertaken to take away his majeſty's life by poiſon, ſhould the attempts of thoſe aſſaſſins miſcarry. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers, relating to this pretended conſpiracy, and referred Intimation of a conſpiracy againſt the king's life.

A. C. 1677. ferred to the lord treaſurer Danby. He ſaid the papers were thruſt under his door; and afterwards declared he knew the author of them, who deſired his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the reſentment of the jeſuits. The information he gave was ſo vague and improbable, that Charles concluded the whole was a fiction. A pacquet of letters, directed to Bedingfield, confeſſor to the duke of York, no ſooner came to hand, than he delivered them to his royal highneſs, as papers of dangerous import, which he did not underſtand; but they ſeemed calculated to involve him in trouble, and were manifeſtly forged, as he knew the handwriting of the perſons in whoſe names they were ſubſcribed. The king had been previouſly informed of this pacquet by Tongue, who declared it was ſent by the jeſuits who had conſpired againſt his life. When he therefore compared this intimation with the behaviour of Bedingfield, and the contents of the letters, he was more and more perſuaded that the whole plot was an impoſture, and deſired that it might be concealed from the knowledge of the public, leſt it ſhould produce a new flame among the people. The duke, however, was ſo ſolicitous to acquit the jeſuits, and eſpecially his own confeſſor, of all imputation, that he inſiſted upon a minute inquiry before the council.

Information of Titus Oates.

Then Titus Oates, the fountain of all this intelligence, made his appearance. He was an abandoned miſcreant, obſcure, illiterate, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a king's ſhip, and diſmiſſed for unnatural practices. Then he profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, and croſſed the ſea to St. Omer, where he was for ſome time maintained in the Engliſh college. The fathers of that ſeminary ſent him

him with some dispatches to Spain: but, after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue in the college, and he came over to London, where he could hardly subsist on the miserable pittance which they allowed for his support. There he cultivated an acquaintance with Tongue and Kirby, and probably, with their assistance, contrived this plot, partly to improve his circumstances, and partly to gratify his thirst of revenge against the jesuits, who had treated him with such contempt. Finding the king had paid very little regard to the suggestions of his two friends, he resolved to try his fate with the public, which always listened greedily to every charge against the catholics; and for this purpose voluntarily swore to the truth of his information, before Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who lived in Westminster. He pretended that the pope had assumed the sovereignty of England as St. Peter's patrimony, and delegated his authority to Oliva, general of the jesuits, who had expedited commissions for all the offices civil and military in the government of Great Britain and Ireland: that the ecclesiastical dignities were likewise conferred upon Roman catholic priests, foreigners as well as natives: that they had tried the king under the name of the Black bastard, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that, when he (Oates) returned from France, a general meeting of the jesuits had been held at the White Horse tavern in the Strand, where they determined to take off the king, by shooting, stabbing, or poison: that several attempts had been already made without success; and that Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was not only acquainted with their designs, but also corresponded on this subject with A. C. 1677.

A. C. 1677. father † La Chaiſe, confeſſor to the French king. A great number of jeſuits, whom he named, were immediately taken into cuſtody. Coleman at firſt retired; but next day ſurrendered himſelf to the ſecretary of ſtate, and ſome of his papers were ſecured. Oates did not know him perſonally, when he was produced at the council, and only charged him upon hearſay: he likewiſe mentioned Wakeman the queen's phyſician. Being aſked if he knew any thing to his prejudice, he anſwered, "No;" adding, "God forbid I ſhould ſay any "thing more than I know: I would not do that "for all the world." He ſaid, in the courſe of his examination, that he had been in Spain, and conferred with Don John, who had promiſed to aſſiſt them powerfully in their deſigns. The king deſiring him to deſcribe the perſon of Don John, he ſaid he was a tall thin man: but Charles himſelf knew he was ſhort and corpulent. His majeſty aſked another queſtion touching the ſituation of the jeſuit college in Paris, in which Oates ſaid he had been preſent at a conſult; and he made ſuch an anſwer as plainly proved he had never ſeen the place. He affirmed that the jeſuits had counterfeited the duke's ſeal, which they uſed occaſionally; and that they intended to take away his life, ſhould he prove refractory: that they had deſtined a good number of gentlemen and prelates to death: that they had uſed ſeventeen hundred fireballs, and four-

† Oates was ſo ignorant, that he called him father la Shee. He did not once mention Langhorne the lawyer, who was a perſon of note, and managed all the affairs of the jeſuits in England. When Dr. Burnet aſked him in private, what arguments the jeſuits had uſed for his converſion to the Roman catholic religion, he laid his hands upon his breaſt, ſaying, "God and his holy angels know I "never changed; but went among "them on purpoſe to betray them." He ſpoke with great paſſion againſt the ſociety, and ſaid he would have their blood.

ſcore

ſcore firemen, in beginning the conflagration in London; and were determined to ſeize that opportunity of aſſaſſinating the king; but their hearts relented when they ſaw him exert himſelf with ſuch humanity for the relief of the ſufferers. He declared that the jeſuits fomented the faction in Scotland againſt the duke of Lauderdale; and that he had ſeen and been intruſted with many letters relating to this conſpiracy. A. C. 1677.

The apprehenſions of the people were ſurpriſingly aroused and their reſentment kindled even to fury at this information, every particular of which they implicitly believed. It was ſuppoſed to be confirmed by Coleman's letters, which contained ſome myſterious hints about extirpating the proteſtant hereſy, the great zeal of the duke, and the mercenary ſpirit of his brother. But what eſtabliſhed its credit beyond all doubt or heſitation, in the opinion of the multitude, was the death of Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, who, after having been loſt for ſeveral days, was found dead in a ditch by Primroſe-hill in the way to Hampſtead. His own ſword was thruſt through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound: ſo that in all probability he had been dead ſome time before this method was taken to deceive the public. His gloves lay by him; and there was money in his pocket. A broad, livid mark appeared quite round his neck, which was broken; his breaſt exhibited ſome marks of bruiſes; and on his breeches were found ſeveral drops of wax-lights, which he never uſed in his own family. The clamour was immediately raiſed againſt the papiſts, as the authors of this murder; and the duke of Norfolk incurred ſome ſuſpicion, from the officious manner in which he had retailed different reports to the council, before the body was found. He told them Godfrey had made a ſcandalous marriage, and retired from Murder of Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey.

A. C. 1677. the deriſion of the public: he ſhifted the ſcene of the tranſaction from place to place; and the deceaſed had been ſeen near Arundel-houſe, immediately before he diſappeared. The populace were now exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general maſſacre of the Roman catholics. The body of Godfrey was carried through the ſtreets in proceſſion, preceded by ſeventy clergymen, attended with a vaſt multitude, and expoſed in public for ſeveral days, during which this melancholy ſpectacle produced a moſt inflammatory effect upon the beholders. Even the better ſort of people were infected with all the vulgar prejudices of the lower claſs; and the ſtreams of reſentment and credulity ran ſo high, that no man could, with any regard to perſonal ſafety, expreſs the leaſt doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

The parliament eſpouſes the notion of the plot.

The parliament meeting while the people were in this agitation, Charles could not help taking ſome notice of the conſpiracy: but he touched upon it ſlightly, ſaying, he ſhould forbear delivering his opinion on the ſubject, leſt he ſhould be thought to ſay too much or too little. He was ſtill deſirous of ſtifling an enquiry which might involve the kingdom in confuſion, and redound to the prejudice of his brother, whom he knew to be a bigotted papiſt. His intention, however, was fruſtrated by the earl of Danby, who, either from enmity to the catholics, or a deſire of acquiring popularity, diſcloſed the whole affair in the houſe of peers, and expatiated upon the danger to which the king's life was expoſed by this conſpiracy. Charles was very much diſpleaſed at his conduct upon this occaſion. "You have (ſaid he) given them a handle to ruin "yourſelf, as well as to diſturb my affairs." The country-party in the parliament would not let ſlip ſuch an opportunity of managing the paſſions of the peo-

people; while the creatures of the court were aſtoniſhed and intimidated into ſilence and ſubmiſſion. An addreſs was preſented for a faſt, and a new form of prayer compoſed for the occaſion. The two houſes petitioned that all popiſh recuſants ſhould be obliged to leave London; and that no ſtranger ſhould be permitted to approach his majeſty's perſon. Yet, in all theſe three addreſſes, they did not limit their fears to the king's perſon, but expreſſed their apprehenſion of the danger that threatened the proteſtant religion. This was the note which had been ſo ſucceſsfully ſounded in the ears of the people, by the members of the former long parliament. Oates was now examined by the commons, and made ſeveral additions to his firſt declaration. He affirmed, that the pope had by commiſſions appointed lord Arundel of Wardour chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-ſeal, lord Bellaſis general, lord Petre lieutenant-general, lord Radcliffe major-general, lord Stafford paymaſter-general, Coleman ſecretary of ſtate, and Langhorne advocate-general. This lawyer he had not mentioned at the council board; but now he inſiſted upon having ſeen the commiſſions in Langhorne's chamber, and upon having delivered ſome of them with his own hands. He likewiſe accuſed Coleman and Wakeman, upon his own knowledge: the firſt as having employed four ruffians to aſſaſſinate the king at Windſor, in the preceding ſummer: the other, whoſe perſon he did not know at his firſt examination, he now charged with having undertaken, for the conſideration of fifteen thouſand pounds, to poiſon his majeſty. If Oates had actually profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, on purpoſe to betray the jeſuits, and had even been intruſted with thoſe commiſſions and letters, he certainly would have retained and pro- A. C. 1677.

A. C. 1677. duced some of them, in order to corroborate and ascertain the truth of his evidence. He had boasted to the king of having ventured his soul in his service; but if he had really acted from such motives, he would not have allowed four ruffians to repair to Windsor on purpose to assassinate his sovereign, without giving intelligence of their design. It were an idle task to detect the falsehood of an information which contains such a number of palpable absurdities. The two houses voted it a most dangerous conspiracy; and the lords above-mentioned were committed to the Tower. The trained bands of London were ordered to be in readiness: the two houses sat every day, to consider the dangerous plot: a committee of lords were appointed to examine witnesses; and they were supplied with blank warrants for committing such persons as they should find cause to suspect. Oates was recommended to the king by the parliament, protected by guards, accommodated with a pension of twelve hundred pounds, and extolled as the saviour of the nation. The king expelled the catholics from London, and from his guards, by proclamation: but the parliament was not so easily satisfied. The commons brought in a bill for preventing the danger that arose from popish members, especially in the house of peers. This was a previous step to more vigorous measures concerted against the succession of the duke of York. The leading men in the upper house, at this juncture, were the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shaftsbury, the lords Essex and Hallifax. They were all averse to a popish successor; but the two first acted from private animosity. The king perceived the drift of the commons, who had actually begun to debate upon an address for petitioning his majesty to remove the duke from his person and councils. He therefore,

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on the ninth day of November, in a ſpeech to both houſes, declared his readineſs to paſs all reaſonable bills, provided they ſhould have no tendency to deſtroy the right of ſucceſſion in the true branch, nor to reſtrain his authority, and the juſt rights of his proteſtant ſucceſſors. A. C. 1677.

During theſe tranſactions, a new informer appeared, in the perſon of one Bedloe, who, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry, from Newbury, on the road to Briſtol, deſired that he might be apprehended by warrant, as he could make ſome important diſcoveries. He was an infamous cheat, who had been detected in many different branches of knavery. He had made ſhift to live by impoſture, and travelled over great part of Europe in borrowed characters. He was, according to his deſire, arreſted at Briſtol, and conveyed to London. He declared before the council, that he had ſeen the body of Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey in the queen's palace at Somerſet-houſe: that a ſervant of lord Bellaſis had offered to gratify him with four thouſand pounds, if he would aſſiſt in carrying it away; but that he had declined the office, and gone into the country, where he was ſo diſturbed by the horrors of conſcience, that he could enjoy no peace of mind, until he had addreſſed himſelf to the ſecretary. At his firſt examination, in the king's preſence, he ſaid he knew nothing of the plot; but had heard that forty thouſand Spaniards were ready to rendezvous as pilgrims at St. Jago, from whence they would be tranſported to England. Next day, however, when examined by the committee of lords, he recollected all the particulars of the conſpiracy, on his own knowledge; and, to render himſelf the more acceptable, added a great many circumſtances of his own invention. The king told Dr. Burnet, that Bedloe had certainly been tutored, in the interval between his

Bedloe commences informer.

A. C. 1677 first and second examination. He now said, that there was a design of landing ten thousand men at Burlington-bay from Flanders: and of surprising the islands of Jersey and Guernsey by an embarkation from Brest. He affirmed, that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire, to join those that would arrive from Spain: that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London: that lord Stafford, Coleman, and Ireland, had received money sufficient to defray the expence of those armaments: that he himself had been tampered with, to undertake the murder of a man, in consideration of which he should have four thousand pounds, a commission from lord Bellasis, and the pope's benediction. He pretended they were resolved to assassinate the king, massacre the protestants; and should the duke refuse to hold the kingdom of the pope, the chief authority would be vested in certain noblemen nominated by his holiness. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenel, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. He charged the fire of London, as well as a subsequent disaster of the same kind in Southwark, upon the catholics, who hoped to find an opportunity to massacre the protestants, in such scenes of tumult and confusion; or at least to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies.

Improbability of what he asserted.

Bedloe's discovery needs no comment; though it may be necessary to observe, that France and Spain were at war when this project of invasion was supposed to be concerted between those two powers: that the king of Spain, far from being in a condition to transport forty thousand men upon such a project, could not afford garrisons for the towns in Flanders, which, at his desire, were secured by English troops; and that, after the most rigorous and unexpected search, no arms, ammunition, commissions,

missions, or papers, were found, to confirm the evi- A. C. 1677.
dence of Oates and Bedloe. Nevertheless, such was the torrent of prejudice, such the frenzy of the people, that no inconsistencies were seen, no facts compared, no objections started. Reason was wholly abandoned, and the most incomprehensible circumstances were the most devoutly believed. They threw a veil of mystery over the whole design, which did not fail to excite the veneration of the public, even to a dangerous degree of enthusiasm. The story would have been less believed, had it been more consistent and intelligible. The commons, in an address, besought his majesty to appoint commissioners for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to his own domestics, those of the duke of York, and all residing in the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Somerset-house. The king desired that the servants of the queen, and dutchess of York, might be excepted; but in a second petition, they insisted upon their former demand. Understanding that commissions had been granted to officers who had not taken the oaths, they committed secretary Williamson to the Tower, for having countersigned such commissions. The king immediately released him. The commons justified what they had done in another address, desiring that he might be detained in custody; and that all the popish officers should be dismissed. Charles told them that Williamson was already released; but that he would dismiss the officers against whom they had objected. Then they proceeded on the bill for rendering papists incapable of sitting in parliament: they brought in another for disbanding the troops; and a third for maintaining part of the militia in arms for a certain term. Charles gave his assent to the two former; but this last he absolutely rejected, declaring, that he would not part with the command of the

A.C. 1677. militia; no, not for an hour: he offered, however, to keep the third part of it on foot, for the security of the government, provided they would grant a supply sufficient to maintain such a force; but they did not think proper to embrace the proposal. When the bill for excluding all members who should refuse the test oaths, was brought into the house of peers, the duke of York moved that an exception might be admitted in his favour. He begged this indulgence, with tears in his eyes, declaring, that his religion was a private concern between God and his own soul; and that it should never appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding these earnest intreaties, he carried his point by two votes only.

Coleman condemned and executed.

Edward Coleman being brought to his trial, was convicted on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. The former swore he had sent fourscore guineas to the ruffian who undertook to assassinate the king; the date of this transaction he fixed to the month of August; but would not specify the particular day. Coleman could have proved he was in the country during the greater part of that month; and therefore the witness would not be particular. His letters to father la Chaise were, in all probability, more heavy upon him than the evidence of Oates and Bedloe: not that they contained any treasonable expressions; but they were replete with marks of impertinent zeal against the protestant religion. After his sentence, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession. They hoped the love of life would have prompted him to accuse the duke his master; but he persisted to the last moment in protesting his own innocence, and vindicating the character of his royal highness. He owned the indiscretion of his own conduct, and some private frauds he had committed; but died in great composure, denying

denying every title of what had been laid to his charge; and declaring, before God, that he had never seen Oates but once; and never saw Bedloe before he was apprehended. A.C. 1677.

Charles still maintained his first opinion of the conspiracy, which he ridiculed in private among those in whom he could confide; but he saw it was absolutely necessary to yield to the torrent, lest he should exasperate the nation. He therefore issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two hundred pounds to every person who should make any new discovery touching the plot, before the twenty-fifth day of December. Oates and Bedloe, though they had often declared that they knew of no person of distinction concerned in the plot, except those they had already named, now ventured to accuse the queen of being engaged in the design against the life of her husband; and the commons, in an address to the king, desired that the queen and her domestics might be immediately removed from the palace of Whitehall. It was well known that Charles had no great affection to the queen; and that her removal would have made way for another consort, by whom he might have had an heir of his own body, which would have quieted all the fears and jealousies of those who were averse to a popish successor. Nevertheless, he would not abandon the queen to the rage of a misguided people. He assured her she might depend upon his protection. In order to manifest his resentment at the insolence of Oates, he commanded him to be strictly guarded. Next day, however, the commons, in an address, insisted upon his being enlarged, and served by his own domestics: they likewise desired his majesty would grant a competent pension for his subsistence. They voted, that the king should be addressed, to cause all the papists in the kingdom to be arrested. On the sixth day of December, they im-

Oates and Bedloe accuse the queen,

A. C. 1677. impeached, at the bar of the upper house, the five lords who were confined in the Tower: but they had not time to present the articles of accusation.

Trial and execution of Ireland, Grove, and Pickering.

In the course of this month, Ireland and Pickering jesuits, with Grove a lay-brother, were tried at the Old-Bailey. Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the order, and John Fenwick a member of the society, were likewise produced at the bar; but their trial was deferred on account of the absence of a principal evidence. Oates deposed, that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath, administred by Whitebread, to assassinate the king: that for this purpose they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets: that Pickering actually attempted to shoot the king in the park, but his flint was loose, so that he lost the opportunity. Bedloe swore that Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, together with one Conyers a Benedictine monk, undertook to murder the king in his morning walk at Newmarket: that he had heard them declare this resolution in the lodgings of father Harcourt, where it was determined that Grove should be gratified with fifteen hundred pounds, and Pickering with as many masses as the like sum would procure: in this particular he agreed with Oates. He likewise declared, Knight, Pritchard, O Neale, and O Bryan, were employed to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Ormond, and his son the earl of Offory. Grove, in his defence, protested, that, as he had a soul to be saved, he was utterly ignorant of the whole affair. Pickering said he had never in his life fired a pistol; and Whitebread, who was present at the trial, declared, in the presence of God, that Oates had not spoke three words of truth in his whole deposition. Ireland denied that he had ever seen Bedloe before that day, and desired him to produce a single witness

to

to prove he had ever been in his company. Pickering affirmed that he was an utter ſtranger to the perſons of both evidences. When Grove obſerved that he hardly knew Oates by ſight, this informer reminded the priſoner of his having told him, that he and three other Iriſhmen had ſet fire to the Borough of Southwark; and that his ſhare of the reward for this ſervice amounted to four hundred pounds. Ireland offered to prove, by twenty witneſſes, that he had been in Staffordſhire and Cheſhire, during the whole month of Auguſt, and part of September, the periods which the informers had aſſigned for thoſe conſultations; but as the witneſſes were not preſent, the priſoner reaped no benefit from the propoſal. Whitebread produced a certificate, under the ſeal of the college at St. Omer, importing, that Oates had reſided in that place during the months of April and May, although he had ſworn to his being preſent at a conſult in London on the twenty-fourth day of April. But this certificate could not be admitted as evidence, by the laws of England. In a word, the three priſoners were condemned; and each proteſted, in his laſt moments, that he was as innocent of the crimes laid to his charge as a child new born. A. C. 1677.

The oppoſition in the two houſes of parliament was now grown too ſtrong to be controuled; and their animoſity againſt the court ſeemed to increaſe with their power. The earl of Danby lord-treaſurer was the chief object of their reſentment. He knew that many members of both houſes were bent upon his deſtruction; and the perſon whom he chiefly dreaded was Montague, who had been ambaſſador in France, and came over to England, without the king's leave, in order to fill a ſeat he had procured in parliament. The king, at Danby's requeſt, ſent a meſſage to the commons, informing them of his reſolution to bring Montague to a trial, The earl of Danby impeached of high-treaſon.

A.C. 1678. for having correſponded with the pope's nuncio abroad: at the ſame time a warrant was granted to ſecure his papers. Warm debates aroſe in the houſe; and many individuals declared it was a high breach of privilege, to ſeize the papers of a member againſt whom no treaſonable practices had been ſworn. Montague had warily depoſited all his credentials in the hands of a truſty friend, to whom he now ſent a meſſenger for the whole collection. The box being brought into the houſe, he opened it, and produced two letters from the earl of Danby, directing him to treat with the king of France for ſix hundred thouſand livres, to be paid annually to the king of England, for three years after the peace of Nimeguen, in conſideration of his favouring the French intereſt at the congreſs. The houſe was kindled into a violent flame by this intelligence. Winnington the ſolicitor-general inveighed againſt the earl of Danby as a miniſter who had been concerned in betraying the intereſt of England, and that of her allies, in ſelling the nation, and ſubverting the government: he therefore moved he might be impeached of high treaſon. Notwithſtanding a vigorous oppoſition by the earl's friends, who obſerved there was no treaſonable fact charged upon him; and that he had done nothing but writ letters by the king's order; it was reſolved, by a majority of votes, that the earl of Danby ſhould be impeached; and in two days the articles were ſent up to the houſe of lords.

The parliament diſſolved.

He was accuſed of having given inſtructions to his majeſty's ambaſſadors, without the privity of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or of the council: of having endeavoured to ſubvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power: of having negotiated a diſadvantageous peace with France, and ſold the intereſt of the nation; of being popiſhly affected: of having concealed the late horrid plot contrived by

by the papists: of having wasted the public trea- A. C. 1678.
sure, and obtained by indirect means several exorbitant grants from the crown. The earl of Danby was extremely embarrassed by some of these articles, which he could not answer in his own justification, without accusing the king, who had begged he would not divulge his secret negotiations. He recriminated upon Montague as the person who had advised and set on foot those private treaties; and to prove this assertion, sent two of that minister's letters to the house of commons, who would not suffer them to be read. He observed, in the house of lords, That the French ministry had always looked upon him as an enemy to the interest of their nation: that he had exerted uncommon diligence in tracing out the conspiracy: and that he had wasted no treasure, inasmuch as there was none to waste. He likewise insinuated, that it was in his power to vindicate his own conduct in such a manner as would clear him of every article of the imputation. Granting all the allegations in the impeachment to be true, there was not one that amounted to high treason; and therefore the lords refused to commit him to the Tower. The commons insisted upon his being taken into custody: a contest ensued; and the king dreading some fatal consequence from the violence of the lower house, prorogued the parliament, which he afterwards dissolved. At the same time he issued writs, convoking another for the sixth day of March. Charles found it was high time to put an end to this assembly, which had continued since the second year of his reign. Their former complaisance and confidence were changed into dissatisfaction and distrust. They were grown not only unmanageable, but even dangerous to his government; and seemed to tread in the steps of the long parliament that ruined his father. It must be owned however, that this change

Burnet. North. L'Estrange. Rapin.

A. C. 1678. change was in a great measure owing to his own misconduct.

Miles Prance apprehended for the murder of Godfrey.

On the twenty-first day of December, Miles Prance, a goldsmith who professed the Roman catholic religion, was apprehended on suspicion of having been concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey. The informer was one Wren who had lodged at his house, and swore, that his landlord had been absent for several nights about the time at which the murder was committed. Prance being brought before the committee of lords at Westminster, denied the charge with the deepest imprecations; but Bedloe being present, and affirming that this was one of the men whom he had seen with the dead body in Somerset-house, he was committed to Newgate, loaded with irons and confined in the condemned hole, which was cold, dark, damp, and almost intolerably offensive.

A. C. 1679. There the poor wretch lay in all the horror of despair, groaning, shrieking, and exclaiming that he was not guilty. Next day, he desired he might be carried before the earl of Shaftsbury, who was president of the committee. This nobleman is said to have employed reproach and dreadful threats upon this miserable object, already half dead with fear, to extort an accusation against the catholics. At length he discovered some particulars, and promised to make a more ample confession, if he could be assured of pardon. This being obtained, he was examined in Newgate by a committee of both houses, and afterwards brought to Whitehall before the king and council. There he declared that Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly two Irish priests, Robert Green cushion-keeper of the queen's chapel, Lawrence Hill footman to doctor Godden treasurer of the chapel, and Henry Berry porter of Somerset-palace. The next time Prance appeared before

before the council, he begged a private audience of the king, which being granted, he fell upon his knees, and declared, as he hoped for salvation, that his confession was totally false. He said, he was unacquainted with Bedloe, and utterly ignorant of the murder as well as of the conspiracy; but that Wren had informed against him in revenge for his having demanded the rent of his lodgings. Being sent back to his miserable apartment in Newgate, intimidated by the jailor, and exposed to the tyranny of the committee, he sent the keeper to tell the king, that his first deposition was true; and this he afterwards retracted. Doctor Loyd visiting him by the king's command, found him half dead with cold and terror. This humane clergyman ordered a fire to be made, and a bed to be provided for him; then he avowed his confession in such a manner as convinced the doctor of his sincerity. Perhaps, when he retracted his first deposition, he hoped the king would have taken him under his immediate protection; but finding himself still at the mercy of the committee, he hazarded his soul rather than endure the hardships to which his body was subjected. A. C. 1679.

His confession contained the following particulars. Hill, Gerald, and Green, in consequence of a consultation with Kelly, Berry, and Prance, undertook to dispatch Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, as a violent persecutor of the Roman catholics, and a declared enemy of the queen's servants. On the twelfth day of October, they followed him at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening, when he entered a house in the neighbourhood of St. Clement's church, where he stayed till nine. When he arrived at the water-gate of Somerset-house, in his way homewards, Kelly and Berry feigned a quarrel, and Hill prevailed upon Godfrey to interpose as a justice of the peace. With difficulty *His confession.*

A. C. 1679. difficulty he was prevailed upon to enter the gate, when Green throwing a twiſted handkerchief over his head, fixed it round his neck, and the reſt falling upon him at the ſame time, he was immediately ſtrangled; they knocked upon his breaſt with their knees, and twiſted his neck until it was quite diſlocated. The body was carried to a high chamber in the houſe of Dr. Godden, in which it lay two nights, and then it was removed to another apartment, where it was ſeen by Bedloe. They ſhifted it to a third place, and even brought it back to the room in which it had been at firſt depoſited. Having kept it four days and four nights, they determined to convey it into the fields, with the rings on the fingers and the money in the pockets; and to thruſt the ſword through it, that the public might believe Sir Edmundſbury had made away with himſelf. They accordingly brought a ſedan chair into the court, and the body being placed in it, was at midnight carried by them to Soho: there Hill waited for them with a horſe, upon which it was mounted before him, and they proceeded to Primroſe-hill, where they left it in a ditch, after Gerald had thruſt the ſword into it, and laid it in a proper attitude.

Berry, Green, and Hill, condemned and executed.

Berry, Green, and Hill, were upon the evidence of Prance and Bedloe convicted of this murder, in ſpite of the moſt manifeſt contradictions in the depoſitions of the two witneſſes, the different evidence given by each at different times, and the ſtrongeſt preſumptions in favour of the accuſed. Theſe unhappy men brought witneſſes to prove that they were at home and in bed at the time in which they were ſaid to be employed in removing the body. The centinels who ſtood that night at the gate of Somerſet-houſe, depoſed, that no ſedan was brought out of the palace. The people who lived in Godden's lodgings, declared upon oath, that

that no dead body could poſſibly be brought into the houſe without their knowledge; and that they were every day in the room which Prance deſcribed, without ſeeing any thing of that nature. Green and Hill died, proteſting their innocence, as they hoped for mercy at the judgment-ſeat of God. Berry profeſſed himſelf a proteſtant, and died like a devout chriſtian, denying his having been privy in any ſhape to the murder; though he might have ſaved his life by making a confeſſion. Oates, Bedloe, and Prance, were undoubtedly falſe informers; and Berry, Green, and Hill, in all probability, innocent. But, certain it is Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey was murdered; and the ſuſpicion naturally falls upon the Roman catholics. Perhaps he was diſpatched by the direction of thoſe who did not know the particulars of the information to the truth of which Titus Oates had ſworn before him; but were apprehenſive of ſome diſcovery that might be fatal to the catholic intereſt. The ſtory of his death, as related by Prance, with the circumſtances of his body's being removed from one apartment to another, conveyed in a ſedan, and mounted on horſeback, is altogether improbable. They might have ſtripped him of his money and rings, and thrown him into the river, without running any riſque of being diſcovered; whereas the method deſcribed by Prance was the moſt dangerous they could have deviſed. If they were deſirous of impoſing upon the world with reſpect to the manner of his death, a ſingle man might have carried out the body in a hamper, without the leaſt hazard of detection. Beſides, the cauſe aſſigned for murdering him was abſolutely without foundation. He was an enemy to all perſecution, and lived upon good terms with the catholics; inſomuch that he warned Coleman of his danger, and counſelled him to retire before he was A. C. 1679.

A. C. 1679. publicly accuſed. The drops of wax upon his breeches ſeemed to indicate, that he had been ſtrangled by the light of tapers, which were uſed only by perſons of the firſt faſhion, and popiſh prieſts at their worſhip. At this period Stephen Dugdale, who had been ſteward to lord Aſhton, offered himſelf as an evidence to make further diſcoveries concerning the conſpiracy. He affirmed, that two hundred thouſand papiſts were ready to take arms in England, and accuſed five jeſuits and a prieſt, againſt whom the king iſſued a proclamation; but all of them eſcaped, except Gavan, who was taken and impriſoned.

New parliament. Charles exerted his utmoſt endeavours to influence the elections for the new parliament; but the ſpirit of the times was ſuch as defeated all his efforts. Almoſt all the active men in the kingdom were enemies to the court; and the people were ſo infatuated by the rumours of plots and conſpiracies hatched by the papiſts, that their reſentment confounded the king with the catholics, though, according to all the informations hitherto publiſhed, the immediate purpoſe of the conſpirators was to remove the king by aſſaſſination. The presbyterians beſtirred themſelves with incredible ardour on this occaſion. They bore the chief ſway in corporations, and even introduced the practice of ſplitting freeholds, in order to multiply votes for members. In a word, Charles had the mortification to foreſee that the ſpirit of oppoſition would revive with double violence in this new parliament. In order to avert part of the ſtorm with which he was threatned, he removed the duke of York from his preſence; and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his ducheſs and daughter Anne to Bruſſels. The king likewiſe ordered a pardon to be expedited in favour of the earl of Danby, leſt his enemies ſhould renew the proſecution againſt that

Duke of York retires to Bruſſels.

that minister, and the fear of death compel him to discover his majesty's secrets. In his speech to the new parliament, the king mentioned the pains he had taken in punishing the conspirators, and the murderers of Godfrey. He made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. The commons having chosen Edward Seymour for their speaker, the king rejected their choice; and an obstinate dispute ensued. They pretended that the new speaker's being presented for the king's approbation was a meer form; and he maintained that he had a right to disapprove of their choice, without disclosing the cause of his disapprobation. The question could not be decided by precedent: at length the affair was compromised; and one Gregory a lawyer being elected by the house, was confirmed by the king. On the twentieth day of March, the house appointed a secret committee for preparing evidence against the lords who were in the Tower, and for receiving further information with regard to the conspiracy and the murder of Godfrey. Then they began to prepare new articles of impeachment against the earl of Danby, A. C. 1679.

They summoned Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witness, to the bar of the house, to be examined concerning the plot. They addressed the king to gratify Bedloe with a reward of five hundred pounds, which he had promised, by proclamation, to the person who should first discover the murderers of Godfrey; and to commend him to the protection of the duke of Monmouth general of the forces. They voted, That an horrible conspiracy had been hatched by the papists for assassinating the king, destroying the protestant religion, and subverting the government: the peers concurred with them in this vote; and both houses Earl of Danby committed to the Tower.

A.C. 1679. petitioned for a day of faſt and humiliation. The king going to the houſe of lords, interceded with the parliament for the earl of Danby. He ſaid that nobleman had acted in obedience to the orders he had received: that for their ſatisfaction he would deprive him of all his employments, and remove him from his preſence; but, he inſiſted upon the pardon he had granted. The commons were not at all ſatisfied with this declaration. The houſes were filled with Danby's enemies; and the commons were wholly influenced by Shaftſbury, who equally hated the king, the duke, and the treaſurer, with implacable rancour. The deſign was to extort ſecrets of ſtate, the diſcovery of which would reflect diſgrace upon his majeſty's character. The pardon, if valid, muſt defeat this purpoſe. The commons ſent a committee to know of the chancellor in what manner the pardon had been ſealed: then they underſtood that the king had withdrawn the ſeals from his cuſtody for the time, that he might be ſcreened from all blame. The whole houſe was in commotion. Nothing was heard but the moſt virulent invectives againſt the earl of Danby. Shaftsbury among the peers exhauſted all his eloquence in ſtigmatiſing the government. He ſaid popery and ſlavery were two brothers that walked hand in hand, ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other entered firſt; but, they never parted: that in England popery would enter firſt to pave the way to ſlavery; but, in Scotland, ſlavery had taken the lead, and popery would follow. Danby having withdrawn himſelf, the commons brought in a bill, obliging him to ſurrender himſelf into the hands of juſtice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded againſt by an act of attainder. This bill was ſent down from the lords with ſome amendments: a diſpute aroſe, and conferences were held upon the ſubject: at length, the

the peers acquieſced, and the bill paſſed. Then the earl of Danby ſurrendered himſelf to the uſher of the black-rod, and was committed priſoner to the Tower. A. C. 1679.

Charles was now reduced to great perplexity. He ſaw his authority already diſregarded, and ran the riſque of being diſgraced by the diſcoveries of Danby. In this emergency he conſulted Sir William Temple, who adviſed him to weaken the oppoſition, by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. He forthwith tried the expedient. The earl of Eſſex, a conſcientious nobleman, was created lord treaſurer in the room of Danby: the office of ſecretary of ſtate was beſtowed upon the earl of Sunderland, who poſſeſſed a good capacity, and a talent for intrigue. Lord Hallifax, celebrated for his genius, learning, and eloquence, was likewiſe ſworn of the council; and theſe three, together with Sir William Temple, were firſt conſulted in all affairs of importance. Shaftſbury was declared preſident of the council; but finding himſelf excluded intirely from the king's confidence, he ſtill adhered to the popular party, over whom he retained all his former influence. The city of London, and the kingdom in general, were overjoyed at this promotion, which ſeemed to prognoſticate a change of meaſures; but, the king's intimation of it was received with great indifference by the houſe of commons. All the art and intrigue of Shaftſbury was employed in keeping up the flame of animoſity againſt the king and his brother. The houſe of one Bird being ſet on fire by his maid-ſervant Elizabeth Oakely, ſhe confeſſed ſhe had been inſtigated to commit that crime by one Stubbs a catholic; and he being queſtioned, owned that father Gifford his confeſſor had aſſured him there was no ſin in burning the houſes of heretics. He and Oakely declared, that the catholics in England intended to

The king changes his council.

A.C. 1679. riſe in arms, and expected to be joined by an army of ſixty thouſand men from France. The commons immediately addreſſed the king for the execution of Pickering and the other condemned jeſuits. They even aſſembled on Sunday, to concert meaſures for the preſervation of the king's perſon, and the proteſtant religion, againſt the attempts of the papiſts. They brought in a bill for baniſhing all Roman catholics from London: they voted, That the duke's being a Roman catholic, and the preſumptive heir of the crown, was the chief encouragement to the deſigns and plots of the papiſts, againſt the king and the proteſtant religion.

Propoſes limitations on a popiſh ſucceſſor.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the earl of Danby being brought to the bar of the upper houſe, pleaded his pardon, and was reconveyed to the Tower. A committee of the commons being appointed to examine the nature of this defence, reported, That there was no example of any perſon's having pleaded a pardon in bar of an impeachment. Then the lower houſe deſired the lords to aſk if the earl would inſiſt wholly upon his pardon. When this queſtion was put, he deſired time to conſider of a reply, and was indulged with four days for that purpoſe. The king, in anſwer to the addreſs of the commons for the execution of the perſons under ſentence of death, obſerved that he had been always ſcrupulous of ſhedding blood; that he would take time to deliberate maturely on their requeſt, and make them acquainted with his ſentiments on the ſubject. Being ſhocked at their vote againſt his brother, he, after a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, on the thirtieth day of April, deſired they would uſe expedition in tracing out the particulars of the conſpiracy, as well as in deviſing ways and means for diſbanding the army, and maintaining a fleet for the defence of the kingdom. Then he told them, that as a mark of his care for the preſerva-

tion

tion of their religion, he had ordered the chancellor to communicate certain propoſals for their conſideration. Accordingly, the chancellor, in his majeſty's name, propoſed the following limitations upon a popiſh ſucceſſor: That it ſhould not be in his power to beſtow eccleſiaſtical benefices or ſpiritual offices upon any but pious and learned proteſtants: That the parliament ſitting at the death of the king ſhould continue for a certain time; or in caſe there ſhould be no parliament at that juncture, the laſt ſhould aſſemble without any new writs of elections: That, in the reign of a popiſh ſucceſſor, no members of the privy-council, or judges, ſhould be appointed or diſplaced but by the authority of parliament; and that all juſtices of the peace ſhould be proteſtants: That, with reſpect to the militia, no lieutenant of a county ſhould be deprived of his office but by order of parliament. The chancellor ſaid it would be difficult to conceive how the power of a popiſh ſucceſſor could be more effectually limited, conſidering how much his revenues would depend upon the parliament: nevertheleſs, if they could add any thing for the ſecurity of religion and liberty, without deſtroying the right of ſucceſſion, the king would willingly aſſent to their propoſal. A. C. 1679.

Violence of the commons againſt the duke of York.

The commons, without paying the leaſt regard to theſe offers, proceeded with the bill for preventing the dangers that might ariſe from popery, in the reign of his preſent majeſty, as well as in his ſucceſſors; and they ordered another to be brought in for vacating the ſeats of thoſe members who ſhould accept of any employment under the crown. On the fifth day of May, the houſe in a body demanded of the peers, that the earl of Danby ſhould be brought to his trial. Then they preſented a long addreſs to the king againſt the duke of Lauderdale; and they finiſhed the money-bill for enabling the king to diſband the army. This act

A. C. 1679 contained a clauſe, importing, That for the future, ſoldiers ſhould not be quartered in private houſes. The lords, by a meſſage, informed the lower houſe of their having fixed a day for hearing counſel upon the validity of Danby's pardon, which the commons had declared null and of no effect. They were incenſed at this meſſage, and inſtantly voted, That any perſon preſuming to defend the validity of Danby's pardon ſhould be deemed a betrayer of the liberties of the nation. They were now reſolved to proceed to extremities; they preſented an addreſs to the king, repreſenting, That London and Weſtminſter were over-run with papiſts; and demanding, That the militia ſhould be armed. Next day being Sunday, they ordered a bill to be brought in for rendering the duke of York incapable of ſucceeding to the throne of England. In an addreſs to the king, they declared they would aſſiſt him with their whole power; and in caſe he ſhould die a violent death, wreak their vengeance upon the catholics.

They bring in the bill of excluſion.

The committee of both houſes meeting to deliberate upon the manner in which they ſhould proceed with the trial of the five lords that were priſoners in the Tower, the commons inſiſted upon excluding the biſhops, as thoſe were caſes in which life was concerned. The lords, on the other hand alledged, That the prelates had a right to be preſent at all the proceedings, except the verdict. This difference produced a learned diſpute, and many writings were publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion. On the fifteenth day of May, the commons read, for the firſt time, the bill of excluſion, to render the duke of York incapable of ſucceeding to the throne of England. In this famous bill, they aſſerted, That the pope's emiſſaries had ſeduced James duke of York, the preſumptive heir of the crown: That they had converted him to the catholic

tholic religion, engaged him in divers negotiations with the pope, cardinals, and nuncios, for the intereſt of that communion: That by his means they had augmented the greatneſs of the French king, to the manifeſt danger of England: and, That by the acceſſion of a popiſh prince to the throne, ſupported by foreign alliances, they would in time be enabled to execute their damnable enterprize. The propoſed act therefore ordained, by the authority of the king and the two houſes, That the ſaid James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulſter, ſhould be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their dependencies: or of enjoying the rights, titles, prerogatives, and revenues of the ſaid crowns: That, in caſe of the king's death or reſignation, they ſhould devolve to the next perſon in the line of ſucceſſion, as if the duke of York were dead: That all the acts of ſovereignty or royalty exerciſed by him, ſhould be null and puniſhable as treaſon: That all perſons attempting to put him in poſſeſſion of any one of thoſe kingdoms, or correſponding with him for this purpoſe, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon: That he himſelf, upon ſetting foot in theſe kingdoms, ſhould be held guilty of the ſame crime: and all perſons were authoriſed to apprehend, impriſon, and, in caſe of reſiſtance, ſubdue him and his adherents by force of arms. This bill was read for the ſecond time; and the queſtion being put, whether it ſhould be referred to the examination of a committee of the whole houſe, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeventy-nine voices. A. C. 1679.

The next ſtep of the commons was, to ſet on foot a ſevere inquiry againſt thoſe members who received penſions from court; and eighteen were diſcovered. The ſtanding army and the guards were voted illegal; and they brought in the bill of Habeas corpus. Bill of Habeas corpus.

A. C. 1679. Habeas corpus, which was paſſed into an act before the end of the ſeſſion. This is one great bulwark of Britiſh liberty, obliging the judge, under ſevere penalties, to grant a writ of Habeas corpus, at the requeſt of every priſoner, directing the jailor to produce him in court, and certify the cauſe of his commitment. The king had for ſome time entertained thoughts of proroguing the parliament; but, now his reſolution was quickened by a hint of intelligence, importing, that the commons intended to draw up a remonſtrance npon the grievances of the nation, like that which was preſented to his father before the commencement of the civil war. Alarmed by this information, he repaired to the houſe of peers on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth day of Auguſt. It was afterwards diſſolved, without the advice of the council; and writs were iſſued for new elections. This was a deſperate remedy, which Charles would not have uſed, had not he thought his ſervant's life was at ſtake, and his own crown in danger. He found himſelf at variance with a ſet of people whom he could neither intimidate nor appeaſe; he became penſive and ſullen, and his temper viſibly changed from this period.

Trial of five jeſuits.

After the prorogation, the five jeſuits, namely Whitebread the provincial, Fenwick, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were brought to trial. Oates depoſed that Whitebread preſided at the conſultation, in which it was reſolved to aſſaſſinate the king; and that the reſt were aſſiſting in the ſame deſign. Dugdale, the new informer, ſwore that he had ſeen a letter, in the hand-writing of Whitebread, to father Ewers, deſiring him to chuſe bold and faithful perſons to murder the king; and that he had read an hundred letters to different people on the ſame ſubject. Conſidering the craft and

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circumſpection of the jeſuits, this circumſtance is almoſt incredible. He likewiſe depoſed, that Harcourt wrote an account of Godfrey's death to Ewers, in Staffordſhire, on the very night in which that magiſtrate was murdered; ſo that it was known in the country ſome days before the body was diſcovered at Primroſe-hill. Prance affirmed, that Harcourt told him, there was a deſign on foot to take away the king's life; and that Fenwick ſaid, fifty thouſand men were ready to take arms, under the command of the lords Bellaſis, Powis, and Arundel. Bedloe declared, that he had heard the priſoners diſcourſing with Coleman about ſending four ruffians to aſſaſſinate the king at Windſor: that he ſaw Harcourt take fourſcore or an hundred guineas out of a cheſt, for the uſe of thoſe aſſaſſins: that, at another time, this jeſuit delivered an order for two thouſand pounds, as part of a greater ſum, to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, who ſaid that fifteen thouſand pounds would be but an indifferent reward for eſtabliſhing religion, and preventing the ruin of three kingdoms. The unhappy priſoners obſerved, in their own defence, that the witneſſes againſt them were perſons of deſperate fortunes and infamous characters; that it was very improbable they ſhould communicate ſecrets of this nature to Oates, who had been expelled from St. Omer for ſcandalous practices, and even excluded from the ſacrament. They enumerated the ſelf-contradictions that appeared in his evidence: they produced ſixteen witneſſes of credit, ſtudents at St. Omer, and chiefly ſons of reputable parents, who ſwore that Oates was in the ſeminary during the time at which he ſaid the conſultation was held in London. Eleven other witneſſes declared upon oath, that Ireland, who had been executed, was in the country at the time of thoſe pretended conſultations, though Oates had ſworn he

A. C. 1679.

was

A. C. 1679. was in town; and, in consequence of that deposition, the man had lost his life. Oates, indeed, provided himself with six or seven evidences, who declared they saw him in London at the time to which he had sworn; and, among the rest, one Smith, a school-master at Islington, upon whose credit he chiefly depended. These circumstances were supposed to invalidate the testimony of sixteen papists, whom even Scroggs the judge had discountenanced and ridiculed: yet Smith retracted his evidence in the sequel. Gavan was so weak as to desire that his innocence might be proved by the ordeal: in that case, indeed, there would have been a possibility of escaping; whereas there was none in the common form of trial before such a judge and jury.

Langhorn is convicted, and suffers death.

They were immediately convicted; though sentence was not produced till after the trial of Langhorn the lawyer, who was accused by the same evidence as a principal agent in the conspiracy. He objected to the credit of such infamous witnesses who had received pardon and recompence for betraying their fellow-subjects. Oates declared, that instead of receiving a recompence, he had spent six or seven hundred pounds of his own money. Bedloe likewise affirmed, that he was seven hundred pounds in advance. Langhorn observed the improbability of these assertions, considering that when they first appeared they were in extreme indigence. He insisted upon the evidence by which Oates had been proved perjured; but the judge gave him to understand, that he could not reject an evidence as perjured, until he was formally convicted of perjury. Oates had sworn that he lodged in the house of Grove at the time of the great consultation; Grove's wife and servant deposed, that he did not. The judge observed, that, being in disguise, he might have lodged there without being known.

known. The witneſſes for the priſoner were in- A.C. 1679.
ſulted by the court, and mal-treated by the people. One of them was hurt, to the imminent danger of his life. A woman declared ſhe could not give evidence, unleſs the court would promiſe to protect her. The judge told her, all he could do, was to puniſh thoſe by whom ſhe might be aſſaulted. Langhorn, rather than ſhe ſhould run the riſque of her life, waved her teſtimony. When he was convicted, the barbarous multitude teſtified their joy by loud acclamations. He and the jeſuits received ſentence of death, and proteſted their innocence to the laſt moment of their lives. Whitebread, in particular, declared his abhorrence of all equivocation, and of the maxim eſpouſed by ſome jeſuits, touching the lawfulneſs of depoſing and aſſaſſinating princes.

The humane reader cannot, without horror, reflect upon the fate of thoſe unhappy perſons, who fell a ſacrifice to the ſavage prejudice of the multitude, excited by the villainy of the moſt abandoned miſcreants; and inflamed by the arts of a malignant faction. By this time, however, the populace began to be gorged with blood: the rage of their reſentment had exhauſted itſelf. The proteſtations, the compoſure, and pious deportment of the ſufferers, made impreſſion upon the minds of all who retained the leaſt ſentiment of humanity; and now they began to reflect upon the characters of the informers and the abſurdities of their information, which, in the hurry and precipitation of their vengeance, they had wholly overlooked. On the eighteenth day of June, the chief-juſtice peoceeded to the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician. Oates had ſaid, at his firſt examination, that he knew nothing againſt this perſon but by hearſay; yet now he ſwore he had ſeen a letter from him to Aſhby the jeſuit, adviſing him

Sir George Wakeman acquitted.

to

A. C. 1679 to uſe a milk-diet, and be pumped at the Bath: and likewiſe expreſſing his zeal for the deſign of aſſaſſinating or poiſoning the king. He then repeated his former accuſation of the queen. Wakeman reminded the judge of the informer's ſolemn declaration, that he knew nothing againſt him but by hearſay. He proved, by his own ſervant, and the apothecary at the Bath, that he did not write, but dictate, the paper ſent to Aſhby; and that nothing could be more abſurd than to preſcribe a milk-diet with the uſe of the Bath-water. Bedloe prevaricated ſcandalouſly in his evidence againſt this phyſician: who, together with three Benedictine monks tried at the ſame time, were acquitted by the jury. Oates and Bedloe, perceiving their credit was now entirely blaſted, loudly taxed the chief-juſtice Scroggs with partiality, becauſe he acted in theſe trials with unuſual moderation. This judge thought proper to turn with the tide of popular prejudice; and, as the queen's character was, in a great meaſure, concerned with that of her phyſician, he was unwilling to give offence to the king, without any proſpect of advantage.

Rebellion in Scotland quelled by Monmouth.

In Scotland the duke of Lauderdale's intereſt declined apace. He had been accuſed before the council of England, by the duke of Hamilton, and ſeveral other noblemen, who proved him guilty of the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical adminiſtration. His memory had begun to fail him, and the king was deſirous of letting him fall gently; being reſolved to veſt the government of Scotland in the hands of the duke of Monmouth, who was now the minion of the people. At preſent it was ſo relaxed, and the diſtractions in England were ſo well known, that the covenanters rejected all reſtraint, and took arms in defence of their conventicles. They hated Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with the moſt implacable enmity, as an apoſtate,

and perſecutor of God's people. A troop of theſe armed fanatics, chancing to meet this prelate and his daughter in his coach, upon a heath in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, dragged him from the carriage; and, without paying the leaſt regard to the cries and intreaties of his daughter, murdered him in the moſt barbarous manner. This cruel aſſaſſination was celebrated by the covenanters as an exploit meritorious in the ſight of God. They became more and more inſolent and enterprizing. They publiſhed a declaration againſt prelacy, and burned ſeveral acts of parliament in the market-place of Rutherglen, a ſmall borough near Glaſgow. Captain Graham, afterwards lord Dundee, attacked one of their conventicles, and was repulſed with the loſs of thirty men. They now reſolved to try their fortune in the field. They took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow; expelled the eſtabliſhed clergy; iſſued a proclamation, declaring they had taken up arms againſt the king's ſupremacy, popery, prelacy, and a popiſh ſucceſſor. The king was no ſooner informed of this inſurrection, than he diſpatched Monmouth with ſome troops of Engliſh cavalry to Scotland. Theſe being joined by the Scottiſh guards, and ſome regiments of militia, marched againſt the inſurgents, who were poſted at Bothwel-bridge, between Glaſgow and Hamilton, to the number of eight thouſand, commanded by their miniſters. They defended the bridge until their ammunition was expended: then they retired; and Monmouth paſſing, drew up his forces without oppoſition. They could not ſtand the fire of his artillery; but immediately fled in confuſion. Seven hundred were killed in the purſuit, and twelve hundred taken priſoners. The duke treated them with great lenity. He diſmiſſed thoſe who promiſed to live peaceably under the government. Three hundred, who rejected this condition, were A. C. 1679.

embarked

A.C. 1679. embarked for the plantations, and perished in the voyage. The duke of Monmouth was naturally brave and merciful; but he was supposed to have courted popularityon this occasion. He had married a Scottish lady, the rich heiress of Buccleugh, allied to all the chief nobility, and hoped to succeed the duke of Lauderdale in all his influence. He prevailed upon the king to grant an act of indemnity in favour of those poor wretches who had been harrassed and hunted into rebellion by the severity of the government; but Lauderdale took care to draw it up in such a manner, that it seemed rather a full pardon to him and all his adherents, than an indulgence to the "intercommuned" covenanters.

The duke of York repairs to Scotland.

In the latter end of August the king was taken ill of an intermitting-fever at Windsor. This being thought dangerous by the physicians, Charles, with the privity of Essex, Sunderland, and Hallifax, sent a courier for the duke of York, who returned privately to England; but, before he reached Windsor, the king was recovered. The duke of Monmouth had resigned himself to the management of Shaftsbury, and seemed to aspire at the succession to the crown. He was highly favoured by the king, and idolized by the people: nevertheless, the duke of York, being supported with the interest of the earls of Essex and Hallifax, refused to return to the continent until Monmouth was deprived of his commission, and ordered to quit the kingdom. This great point being gained, the duke of York retired again to Brussels; but he soon obtained leave to reside in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of that people, and be at hand, in case of his brother's decease.

Meal-tub plot.

Before he left England, he had prevailed upon the king to postpone the meeting of the new par-

liament by prorogation. He hoped, that as the nation began to cool, his right to the ſucceſſion would regain the ground it had loſt. Beſides, he had ſome expectation from a new plot, which he thought would tranſlate the odium from the catholics to the preſbyterians. One Dangerfield, more infamous (if poſſible) than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been ſet in the pillory, ſcourged, branded, and tranſported for fraud, felony, and coining, hatched a plot, in conjunction with a midwife called Cellier, a Roman catholic of abandoned morals. They were ſaid to be encouraged by the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five popiſh lords in the Tower. Dangerfield declared there was a deſign on foot to ſet up a new form of government, and remove the king, with the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who ſupplied him with money, and countenanced his diſcovery. He hid ſome ſeditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Manſel, and then brought cuſtom-houſe officers into the apartments to ſearch for ſmuggled merchandize. The papers were found; and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be ſearched; and, in the houſe of Cellier, the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy was diſcovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, whence it acquired the name of the Meal-tub plot. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confeſſion of the forgery, which he ſaid was contrived by the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower: that the deſign was to ſuborn witneſſes to prove a charge of ſodomy and perjury upon Oates; to aſſaſſinate the earl of Shaftſbury; to accuſe the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Eſſex, Halliſax, and others, of A. C. 1679.

A. C. 1679. having been concerned in the conſpiracy againſt the king and his brother. The earl of Caſtlemain and the counteſs of Powis were ſent to the Tower; and the king himſelf was ſuſpected of having encouraged this impoſture. But people, who reaſoned without prejudice, believed the confeſſion and information were equally falſe.

Earl of Shaftſbury expelled from the council.

The earls of Eſſex and Hallifax preſſed the king to aſſemble the parliament: but he was afraid of finding them irritated by this new diſcovery; and therefore withſtood all their importunities. Diſguſted at this refuſal, and dreading the popular reſentment, they withdrew themſelves from the king's confidence. Eſſex reſigned the treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed upon Laurence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became his chief counſellors. Lord Ruſſel, one of the moſt popular and virtuous men in the nation, quitted the council-board: Sir William Temple retired to the country; and Shaftſbury being removed from the board, his place was filled by the earl of Radnor. The immediate cauſe of his removal was an inſult he offered to the king in his abſence. Charles had met his brother at Newmarket, from whence the duke of York ſet out for Scotland: this interview was no ſooner known to Shaftſbury, than he called a council at Whitehall; and preſſed them to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting the danger to which his life was expoſed from the duke's preſence.

Monmouth returns to England without the king's leave.

This turbulent nobleman finding himſelf expelled from the council, and from all ſhare in the adminiſtration, adviſed Monmouth to return to England, even without the king's leave. Charles refuſed to ſee him when he arrived in London, but ordered him to leave the kingdom. Inſtead of obeying this command, he accompanied Shaftſbury in a progreſs through many parts of the kingdom, among thouſands of people who aſſembled to

to see this darling of the English nation. Such conduct seemed to indicate a design against the established government, and induced many persons of consideration to espouse the interest of the duke of York, rather than see their country reinvolved in the miseries of a civil war. Shaftsbury, by means of his emissaries, procured petitions to the king from different parts of the kingdom, demanding a parliament; and excited such a spirit of discontent against the government, as seemed to prognosticate a very dangerous rebellion. Charles was extremely incensed at the duke of Monmouth; and chagrined at seeing himself deserted by his counsellors. Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powel, discontinued their attendance at council; and some places in the admiralty were relinquished. All the antiministerial members were re-elected in the new parliament; and the whole nation was filled with murmurs, that foretold a storm like that which had swept his father from the throne. A. C. 1679. Burnet. L'Estrange. Rapin. A. C. 1680.

The nearness and importance of the danger seemed to inspire him with more vigour than he was ever known to possess. The parliament meeting on the twenty-sixth day of January, he told them, in a short speech, that the present state of the nation rendered an intermission absolutely necessary; and therefore he prorogued them to the fifteenth day of April. Then he declared in council, that he had ordered the duke of York to return to court, judging his presence necessary at a time when questions were started, in which his interest was so nearly concerned. That prince returned in February, and was received by his brother with extraordinary marks of affection. In all probability, his advice and exhortations corroborated the king's resolution: so that he determined to try his strength with that restless faction which he could not appease. The partisans of the court The opposite factions distinguished by the name of Whig and Tory.

A. C. 1680. retorted the practice of petitions upon their antagoniſts. They took care to provide a great number of addreſſes to his majeſty, expreſſing their abhorrence of the licentious freedom which had been taken in demanding a parliament. One ſide was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Petitioners; the other acquired the appellation of Abhorrers. As their mutual animoſity increaſed, they reviled each other in the moſt opprobrious terms. The party in the oppoſition compared the courtiers to the Iriſh banditti, called Tories; and they, on the other hand, expreſſed their contempt of the anticourtiers, by claſſing them under the title of Whigs, a term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were ſuppoſed to live upon a kind of buttermilk called Whig in that country. From theſe beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which ſtill ſerve to diſtinguiſh the factions of England, though they have ſtrangely varied from their original ſignification.

The king's declaration with regard to the illegitimacy of Monmouth.

The whigs were headed by the earl of Shaftſbury, who was bent upon the ruin of the duke of York, in oppoſition to whom he ſet up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but circulated a report that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Walters the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a black box, intruſted to the care of Mr. Gilbert Gerard. The king, in a council aſſembled for the purpoſe, declared this rumour was falſe; and deſired that a minute inquiry might be ſet on foot, to diſcover the author of ſuch malicious ſlander. Gerard being ſummoned to appear, declared upon oath, that he never had any ſuch contract in his hands, and never heard that any ſuch writing exiſted. At laſt the king publiſhed a declaration, that he never was married, nor contracted to Mrs. Walters, or Barlow, mother to the duke of Monmouth,

mouth, nor to any perſon whatſoever, but queen Catharine. This declaration, atteſted by all the privy-counſellors then preſent, was entered upon record in the court of chancery. In the ſummer, the earl of Caſtlemain, and Cellier the midwife, were tried on account of the meal-tub plot, and acquitted; and the grand-jury threw out the bill of indictment againſt the counteſs of Powis. A. C. 1680.

Bedloe died in Auguſt at Briſtol, and not only inſiſted upon the truth of his evidence againſt the jeſuits, but alſo accuſed the duke and the queen of having been concerned in the deſign of introducing popery into England. He likewiſe declared he had many other circumſtances to diſcover, of importance to the king and nation; and beſought the chief-juſtice North, who viſited him in his illneſs, to intercede with his majeſty for ſome allowance on which he could ſubſiſt. This ſolicitation plainly proves he did not think himſelf dying, and invalidates the credit which is ſuppoſed due to a death-bed confeſſion. Beſides, if he was really guilty of the blood of ſo many innocent perſons, he muſt have been hardened in a long courſe of villainy, beyond all ſenſe of penitence and remorſe. Death of Bedloe the informer.

Though the court-party had of late gained ground, thoſe in the oppoſition made ſtrong efforts to retain their influence in the nation. Clayton the mayor of London, having named a perſon for ſheriff, who was diſagreeable to the faction, the common-hall rejected him, and choſe Bethel and Corniſh, two noted independents and republicans, who ſacrificed their religion to their intereſt, ſo far as to take the oaths and the ſacrament, and renounce the covenant, to qualify themſelves for this employment. Then the common-council deſired the mayor to petition the king to aſſemble the parliament: and a proclamation was in a few days publiſhed, to inform the public that the parliament

A. C. 1680. would assemble on the twenty-first day of October. Shaftsbury, attended by the earl of Huntington, the lords Russel, Cavendish, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and Sir William Cooper, appeared in Westminster-hall, and presented to the grand-jury of Middlesex a bill of indictment against the duke of York, as a popish recusant. Before the jury fixed on any determination concerning this unexpected presentment, they were suddenly dismissed by the chief-justice. This step in Shaftsbury was a declaration of eternal war against the duke of York, by which he ascertained his inviolate attachment to his party. Charles, alarmed at their presumption, thought proper to do something to render the parliament less implacable. He insisted upon his brother's returning to Scotland, until the storm should be overblown, assuring him he would never abandon his interest; and the duke, though not without reluctance, complied with his request.

The duke of York presented as a popish recusant.

When the parliament assembled, the king in his speech to both houses. informed them of his having concluded an alliance with Spain. He declared himself ready to concur with them in all reasonable expedients for the security of the protestant religion, provided no prejudice should be offered to the succession. He exhorted them to prosecute the inquiry into the conspiracy; demanded a supply for the support of Tangier, which he could not maintain without their assistance; and above all things recommended a strict union between them and him, as the chief article that would ensure the strength and prosperity of the nation. The commons having chosen their speaker, began the session by expelling some of their own members, who had subscribed the petitions of the abhorrers: for the same reason they presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove from all public employ-

Resentment of the commons in the new parliament against the duke of York.

employment Sir George Jefferys recorder of London, and first judge of Chester. They inherited all the eagerness of the last parliament, with respect to the conspiracy. They received the informations of the new witnesses, Dangerfield, Jennison, Dugdale, and one Turberville; and they recommended Dr. Tongue to the king, for the first good benefice in the gift of the crown that should become vacant. The lords Russel and Capel expatiated upon all the steps which the government had taken to the prejudice of the nation. They imputed them wholly to the counsels of papists; and exaggerated the dangers to which the kingdom would be exposed from a popish successor. They were seconded by a great number of members, some of whom spoke of the duke in the most virulent terms. At length, the house renewed the votes which had passed against him in the former parliament, when lord Russel moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. This measure, so repugnant to the king's inclination, was espoused not only by the earl of Sunderland, but even by the dutchess of Portsmouth, who in all probability thought, that should the duke of York be set aside, her son might have some chance for the succession. A. C. 1680.

There was now a very powerful party formed against the court, whether we respect the talents or the interest of those that were in the opposition; but Charles was assured of the church, which had ever adhered to lineal succession; of all those loyalists who detested fanaticism and republican principles; and of a great number, who, from a sincere regard to their country, dreaded the revival of that anarchy from which the nation had been so lately delivered. The motion for the bill Arguments for and against the bill of exclusion.

A.C 1680 of excluſion produced violent debates in the lower houſe, which were maintained with great eloquence and vivacity. It was ſupported by lord Ruſſel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, and Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Erneley chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The excluſioniſts aſſerted, That the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the conſtitution: That the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown of England had been often ſet aſide; and that ſuch an expedient was never ſo neceſſary as at the preſent juncture, when the duke's bigotry to the church of Rome, his connexions with catholic princes, and his own arbitrary diſpoſition, threatened the nation with the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, the perſecution, and even the extirpation of the proteſtants, together with ſuch acts of oppreſſion as would inſtigate the people to take arms in their own defence, and intail another civil war upon the kingdom. Thoſe who oppoſed the bill, argued that the right of ſucceſſion was deemed a fundamental principle in all European monarchies; and had never been ſet aſide but by ſucceſsful uſurpation or abſolute tyranny: that it could never be altered, without expoſing the kingdom to the moſt violent convulſions, unleſs the whole nation concurred in the change: that a legiſlature which deviates from a fundamental point of the conſtitution, ſubverts that very principle of authority on which itſelf is founded: that although individuals acquieſce in common laws enacted by a majority in parliament, the caſe would be very different, were the lineal ſucceſſion to be altered. A very powerful party would oppoſe this violation of the conſtitution, and

numberleſs miſchiefs would enſue: that the duke of York had ſolemnly promiſed his religion ſhould never affect his public conduct: that the conſideration of his own intereſt would prevent him from re-eſtabliſhing a religion ſo diametrically oppoſite to the genius of the people; or, if that ſhould prove too weak, the limitations which the king had propoſed would effectually reſtrain him from giving way to the dictates of his ſuperſtition. Laſtly, they obſerved, that the king was determined to riſque every thing rather than ſacrifice the right of ſucceſſion; and therefore it would be neceſſary to conſider the conſequences of driving their ſovereign to extremity. A. C. 1680.

Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the bill was carried by a great majority: but it met with another fate in the upper houſe, where the whole bench of biſhops, except three, declared againſt it, as a dangerous innovation. It was defended by Shaftſbury, Eſſex, and Sunderland. They were anſwered by Hallifax, who diſplayed a ſurpriſing extent of capacity; and in eloquence far outſhone his uncle Shaftſbury, againſt whom he was animated by reſentment and emulation. The king was preſent at the debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night, when the bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three. The commons were extremely mortified at this diſappointment; and ſo incenſed againſt Hallifax, that they addreſſed the king to remove him from his councils and preſence for ever, on pretence of his having adviſed the late prorogation of parliament. When the king, by a meſſage, exhorted them to diſpatch the affair of the conſpiracy, and proceed to the trial of the lords in the Tower, they anſwered, that the delay was occaſioned by the pernicious counſels of thoſe who had adviſed him to diſſolve the laſt parliament, and prorogue the preſent. Inſtead of complying with his

It paſſes in the lower houſe, and is thrown out by the lords.

A.C. 1680. his demand for the relief of Tangier, which was beſieged by the king of Morocco, they recapitulated all the inſtances of miſconduct, which his whole reign afforded: ſome of the members plainly ſaid, that ſhould they grant a ſum of money for this ſervice, it would in all probability be converted to another uſe. They obſerved that, although above a million had been raiſed for a new navy, the king had not built one ſingle ſhip; that two millions, granted for the ſupport of the triple alliance, had been employed to deſtroy that connection; and that the king had received a million to wage war with France, at a time when he was under a ſecret engagement with Lewis to effect a pacification. They drew up a remonſtrance, in eighteen articles, repreſenting the danger to which the nation was expoſed, from the favour ſhewn to papiſts, and inſinuating that the king was concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the proteſtant religion, and the liberty of his people.

Trial of lord Stafford. They reſolved to wreak their vengeance upon lord Stafford, one of the priſoners in the Tower, uncle to the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman of narrow underſtanding, and already overwhelmed with age and infirmities. On the thirtieth day of November, he was brought to trial by his peers, the chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, being appointed lord high-ſteward for the occaſion. The evidences againſt him were Dugdale, Oates, and Turberville. The firſt depoſed that lord Stafford, at Tixhall, the houſe of lord Aſton, had tempted him with the offer of five hundred pounds to murder the king. Oates ſwore, that he ſaw lord Stafford receive from Fenwick a commiſſion for being paymaſter-general to the army. Turberville declared, that he had converſed with lord Stafford at Paris, where he promiſed to make his fortune, if he would aſſaſſinate the king, who was a heretic,

a heretic, and a rebel againſt God Almighty. The priſoner made ſuch a defence as equally ſurpriſed his friends and enemies. He proved Dugdale to be a knave, who had cheated lord Aſton, defrauded his ſervants, and contracted debts, for which he had been committed to priſon, from whence he had no other way of extricating himſelf but by turning informer. He likewiſe made it appear, that he was not at Tixhall on the day mentioned by the evidence. He invalidated the teſtimony of Oates, by enumerating the omiſſions, additions, and palpable contradictions in his former depoſitions; by reminding the court of his perfidious diſſimulation in point of religion; his ſolemn abjurations and execrations to ſupport that falſhood by which he owned his credit was eſtabliſhed among the jeſuits; and the improbability that a man concerned in a conſpiracy of ſuch importance, ſhould have been abandoned to that miſery with which he was oppreſſed when he firſt turned informer. He proved that Turberville had eloped from a convent, and turned trooper in the French ſervice, from whence he had deſerted: that he lived in the utmoſt indigence in London, and had been heard to ſay, "By God! there is no better buſineſs than that "of an informer:" and his ſervants ſwore they had never ſeen Turberville with their lord, either in France or in England. The priſoner obſerved, that through a courſe of forty years, he had preſerved his loyalty in the midſt of danger, difficulty, and civil confuſion; and that it was not credible he ſhould now, in his old age, when broken with infirmities, renounce the eaſe and affluence he enjoyed, to belye his former conduct, and engage in ſuch a villainous conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign, who had been always to him remarkably generous and indulgent. A.C. 1680.

A. C. 1680. Notwithstanding the strength of his defence, the simplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic protestations of innocence, he was convicted of high-treason by a majority of four and twenty voices. Hearing the verdict, he exclaimed, "God's holy "name be praised!" When the high-steward gave him to understand that the peers would intercede with his majesty, that his sentence might be mitigated into decapitation, he shed a flood of tears, telling them he was not moved to this weakness by the fear of death, but by a deep sense of their goodness. Though he was not afraid to die, he discovered a desire of life; and sent a message to the lords, intimating that he would discover all he knew of any designs against the government. Being brought to the house, he disclosed some schemes in which he had been concerned, for obtaining a toleration in favour of the catholics; and mentioned the earl of Shaftsbury as one who had undertaken to procure this indulgence. The lords would not suffer him to proceed; but remanded him to the Tower, where he began to prepare for death with equal courage and resignation. On the twenty-ninth day of December he was brought to the scaffold, where, in the most earnest manner, he declared himself innocent of the crimes laid to his charge. He spoke of the witnesses with charity and compassion; disavowed all the murdering and immoral principles imputed to the Roman catholics; and expressed his hope that the public would soon be undeceived, and do justice to his injured reputation. The populace were melted at the meekness, piety, and resignation of this antient nobleman, whose character had been always untainted, till the date of this accusation. When he repeated his protestations with regard to his innocence, they cried aloud, "We believe you, "my lord---God bless you, my lord." Even the

He is condemned and executed.

the executioner was ſoftened: he could not perform his office without heſitation and marks of ſympathy; and when he held up the head, according to cuſtom, exlaiming, "This is the head of a "traitor," no expreſſion of aſſent was heard: all was ſtill, ſilent, and ſorrowful. A. C. 1680.

This was the laſt blood ſhed on account of that pretended conſpiracy, which was invented by a few needy miſcreants, for the purpoſe of raiſing themſelves from indigence and contempt; and afterwards foſtered by a dangerous faction, to blow up the flames of diſcord through the kingdom. To anſwer this perfidious aim, they ſcrupled not to abuſe a whole people; to exaſperate them into a ſavage diſregard of truth and common juſtice; and to exerciſe ſuch acts of barbarity as will remain upon record, an indelible ſtain upon the character of the nation. The commons demanded other victims than lord Stafford, who had diſappointed them greatly, in the hope they had conceived that he would make ſome diſcovery that would ſerve to keep up the general ferment, which now began to ſubſide. They voted, that a bill ſhould be brought in for baniſhing the moſt conſiderable papiſts from the kingdom: that while the catholics retained any hope of ſeeing the duke of York aſcend the throne, the perſon of the king, the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people, would be in imminent danger. Then they reſolved to prepare a bill for an aſſociation to defend the king's perſon, the proteſtant religion, and all perſons of that perſuaſion, againſt invaſion and oppoſition; as well as to prevent the duke of York, or any other popiſh prince, from ſucceeding to the throne of England. They propoſed ſeveral other bills, as reſtrictions on the prerogative; and, in an addreſs, beſought his majeſty to grant his aſſent to an act of parliament for excluding his brother from the ſucceſſion.

The commons oppoſe the court meaſures with redoubled vigour.

Burnet. North. Temple. L'Eſtrange. Ralph.

Charles,

A. C. 1681. Charles, in his anſwer, ſaid he was ſorry to find them ſo much attached to the bill of excluſion, againſt which his own opinion was confirmed by that of the lords. He recommended to them the conſideration of ſome other means for maintaining the proteſtant religion: he wiſhed they would take cognizance of the ſtate of the nation, and the ſituation of Chriſtendom, in ſuch a manner as would enable him to ſuccour Tangier, ſupport his alliances, and ſecure the peace of the kingdom. Before they received this anſwer, they had brought in a bill for exempting proteſtant nonconformiſts from the penalties impoſed by an act in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and it paſſed through both houſes: but the clerk of the crown concealed it, by the king's order; ſo that when he came to the houſe, it was not to be found. He had always declared for a general indulgence, the benefit of which would have extended to his catholic ſubjects: but he thought the preſbyterians, whoſe intereſt predominated in this parliament, had little reaſon to expect he would indulge them with an excluſive toleration. The commons drew up articles of impeachment againſt lord chief-juſtice Scroggs, for having endeavoured to ſtifle the conſpiracy; and for having diſmiſſed the grand jury of Middleſex in an irregular manner, when the duke of York was preſented as a popiſh recuſant. They concurred with the lords in voting that there actually was, and had been for ſeveral years, a horrible conſpiracy in Ireland, hatched by the papiſts, to maſſacre the proteſtants, and overturn the eſtabliſhed government of that kingdom; and that the hope of ſeeing the duke of York upon the throne of England, had encouraged the ſaid conſpiracy. The lower houſe, after violent debates upon the king's laſt anſwer, reſolved, that the act of excluſion was the only ſufficient ſecurity for the king's life, the proteſtant

teſtant religion, and the eſtabliſhed government: A. C. 1681.
that, until ſuch an act ſhould paſs, the commons could not grant any ſupplies, without endangering the king's perſon and the proteſtant religion, and betraying the people they repreſented: that all thoſe who had adviſed his majeſty to perſiſt in oppoſing the bill of excluſion, had given pernicious counſel, were favourers of popery, and enemies to the king and kingdom. They reſolved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, deſiring he would remove from his preſence and councils the earls of Halifax, Worceſter, Clarendon, Feverſham, and Laurence Hyde. They voted, that whoever ſhould lend money, or promote loans to the king, upon the cuſtoms, exciſe, or other taxes, or accept or purchaſe tallies, or anticipations, upon the king's revenues, ſhould be deemed an enemy to parliaments, and proſecuted as ſuch by the two houſes.

The king diſſolves the parliament.

Theſe violent proceedings plainly demonſtrated that they either intended to involve the kingdom in a civil war, or hoped the king's eaſy temper would be intimidated or influenced into a deſertion of his brother's intereſt. Their inſolence, however, ſerved only to excite his reſentment, without impairing his reſolution. The ducheſs of Portſmouth fell upon her knees, and begged he would not ruin himſelf for the ſake of his brother. Mr. Sidney, his ambaſſador at the Hague, tranſmitted to him a memorial written by Fagel, penſionary of Holland, to prove that the king could not ſupport the duke of York, without abandoning the intereſts of Europe. He reſiſted all importunities and remonſtrances with ſurpriſing fortitude; and, rather than injure his brother, reſolved to prorogue the parliament. This was a power which he had not, like his father, reſigned. The commons receiving intimation of his deſign, before he went to the houſe of lords, voted, in a tumultuous manner, that whoever

A. C. 1681. whoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue the parliament, was a traitor to the king, the kingdom, and the proteſtant religion, a penſioner of France, and one who favoured the intereſts of that crown: that, in the opinion of the houſe, the acts made in the reign of queen Elizabeth, againſt popiſh recuſants, ought not to extend to proteſtant diſſenters; and that the proſecution of proteſtant nonconformiſts is an oppreſſion upon the ſubject: that it weakens the proteſtant intereſt, encourages popery, and is productive of dangerous conſequences to the kingdom: that thanks be given to the city of London for their loyalty, care, and vigilance, in the preſervation of the king and the proteſtant religion: that, in the opinion of the houſe, the great fire of London was kindled by the papiſts, in order to introduce popery and arbitrary power: that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring him to reſtore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices, of which he had been diveſted by the influence of the duke of York. Theſe votes had ſcarce paſſed when the uſher of the black rod came and ſummoned them to the upper houſe, where the king paſſed ſome bills; and then the chancellor prorogued them till the twentieth day of January. In three days after this prorogation, the mayor and common-council of London preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to re-aſſemble the parliament at the appointed time, that they might regulate the important affairs of the kingdom. This remonſtrance ſerved only to irritate the king, who iſſued a proclamation, diſſolving the parliament. At the ſame time he convoked another to meet on the twenty firſt day of March, at Oxford.

Spirit and violence of the whigs.

Though he knew the intereſt of the preſbyterians ſtill prevailed in all the corporations, he reſolved to try every expedient for obtaining a parliament that ſhould be leſs implacable; and he was deſirous of meeting

meeting them at a distance from London, which had been always unpropitious to him and his family. It was not without reason that he dreaded the inhabitants of this opulent city. They re-elected the four members who had represented them in the two last parliaments. They presented them with an address of thanks for their endeavours to obtain an act of exclusion against the duke of York. They expressed their hope that the members would never agree to any supplies, until the kingdom should be secured against popery and arbitrary power; and declared they would support them with their lives and fortunes. The example of London was followed by almost all the corporations in the kingdom; so that the king foresaw he should be at the head of the same parliament he had dissolved. The duke of Monmouth, with fifteen peers, presented an address to the king, petitioning that his majesty would not assemble the parliament at Oxford, where the two houses could not meet with safety, or debate with freedom, while exposed to the attempts of the papists, a great number of which had insinuated themselves into his majesty's guards. This was a mortifying remonstrance to Charles, who would not favour the petitioners with any answer, but eyed them with looks of indignation. A. C. 1681.

Each party had for some time reviled and ridiculed the other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice was attended with a remarkable incident. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, for whose perusal he used to purchase those occasional satires, proposed to a Scotchman of the name of Everhard, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the exclusionists. He believed this was a scheme to entrap him, and resolved to retort the intended mischief on the head of Fitzharris. He assented to the proposal, and Information by Fitzharris.

A.C. 1681. they agreed to meet in a houſe where Everhard had previouſly poſted Sir William Waller, an eminent juſtice of the peace, and two other perſons, within hearing. There Fitzharris and Everhard compoſed a virulent libel againſt the king and his brother, replete with treaſon and ſcurrility. Waller immediately informed the king of this tranſaction, and obtained a warrant for apprehending Fitzharris, in whoſe pocket the libel was found. Seeing himſelf in the hands of juſtice, and knowing the management of all the former trials had been left to the country-party, he reſolved to deſerve their favour, and declared he had been employed by the court to write the libel, that the odium of it might be thrown upon the excluſioniſts. He ſaid the intention of the miniſtry was to ſend copies of it to all the leaders of the oppoſition, and to arreſt them immediately, as perſons engaged in a conſpiracy, the belief of which this paper would ſerve to confirm. He likewiſe pretended to make new diſcoveries about the popiſh plot, and told a great many improbable circumſtances, which he had invented for the purpoſe. He was at firſt committed to Newgate; but the king, either believing that the oppoſite party would tamper with him, or hoping that he might be rendered uſeful to the deſigns of the court, granted an order for removing him to the Tower, where he is ſaid to have been practiſed upon by Hawkins the chaplain, to own he was ſuborned by the country-party.

Parliament at Oxford.

When the parliament aſſembled at Oxford, the members on both ſides were armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they had expected an immediate rupture. The repreſentatives of London, in particular, were ſurrounded by a numerous band of horſemen, diſtinguiſhed by knots of ribbons inſcribed "No popery, no ſla-" very." The king's ſpeech to this parliament was couched

couched in a very unuſual ſtile. He complained of the inſupportable proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons; and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exerciſe arbitrary power over others, ſo he would not allow it to be exerciſed over himſelf. He ſaid, if they would conſider the provocations he had undergone, they would find more cauſe to wonder at his long patience, than at the reſentment which he had lately expreſſed. He obſerved, that his aſſembling them upon this occaſion plainly proved that no irregularities on their part ſhould ever inſpire him with a diſguſt for parliaments. He hoped the bad ſucceſs of former animoſities would diſpoſe them to more moderation, and induce them to conſider what ſteps it would be neceſſary to take in the preſent conjuncture. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire of removing all reaſonable fears ariſing from the poſſibility of a popiſh ſucceſſor; and added, that he would willingly liſten to any practicable ſcheme for putting the government intirely into proteſtant hands, during the life of any prince who ſhould profeſs the catholic religion. Some expedients had been ſuggeſted for this purpoſe; but they were even more diſagreeable to the duke than was the bill of excluſion. A. C. 1681.

The commons having choſen the ſame ſpeaker who filled the chair in the laſt parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the ſubject of their deliberations. Then they ſet on foot a ſtrict inquiry about the removal of the bill which had paſſed both houſes in the laſt parliament, for repealing the ſtatute of queen Elizabeth againſt nonconformiſts. They took under their cognizance the affair of Fitzharris, who had by this time retracted his firſt confeſſion, on pretence that it was extorted by the country party. They reſolved to try him by impeachment; and, to manifeſt their contempt for The commons impeach Fitzharris.

A.C. 1681. the court, ordered ſecretary Jenkins to carry up the articles to the houſe of lords. He was ſo incenſed at being choſen for this employment, that he at firſt refuſed to comply with the order of the houſe; but he thought proper to ſubmit, when they threatened to commit him for his diſobedience. At the ſame time they voted the thanks of the houſe to Waller for his having arreſted Fitzharris.

Expedients propoſed by the king for reſtricting a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Their next ſtep was to examine the expedients propoſed in lieu of the bill of excluſion. It was propoſed, That the duke ſhould be baniſhed, during life, to the diſtance of five hundred miles from any part of the Britiſh dominions: That the government ſhould be wholly veſted in a regent: That this office ſhould be conferred upon the princeſs of Orange; and, in caſe of her death, devolve to her ſiſter Anne: That ſhould the duke of York have a ſon educated in the proteſtant religion, the ſaid regent ſhould act during his minority: That, though the kingdom ſhould be governed in the name of James II. yet no man ſhould take arms for him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of being capitally puniſhed: and, That the ſame penalty ſhould be decreed againſt any perſon who ſhould affirm that the ſimple title of King takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any ſhape eludes the obligation of it: That all officers, civil and military, ſhould take an oath to obſerve this ſtatute: That acts of the ſame nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: That, in caſe the duke of York ſhould enter either of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be excluded "ipſo facto," and the ſovereignty devolve to the regent: That all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children educated in the proteſtant religion. Rigorous as theſe expedients were, the commons rejected them, and reſumed the bill of excluſion. In a word, the leaders of the oppoſition

sition were resolved to be dissatisfied with every thing the king could propose, in hope of humbling him into the most abject submission. A. C. 1681.

The lords having rejected the impeachment against Fitzharris, and remitted his trial to the ordinary courts of judicature, the commons exclaimed against this refusal, which indeed was unprecedented. They voted, that the commons assembled in parliament had an undoubted right to impeach any person, whether peer or commoner, before the lords, for high treason, or any other crime whatsoever; and that the refusal of such an impeachment was a real denial of justice: that Edward Fitzharris having been impeached by the commons, the lords had denied justice, and violated the constitution of parliaments, in ordering him to be prosecuted at common law; and that no inferior court of judicature could proceed against Fitzharris, without violating the privileges of parliament. These violent resolutions being taken, they converted their attention to the bill of exclusion, against which no member presumed to speak, except secretary Jenkins, who underwent the most acrimonious raillery and derision. They had actually ordered the bill to be read a second time, when Charles, seizing the pretence of the quarrel between the two houses, stole upon them and dissolved the parliament, before they had the least intimation of his design. He forthwith stepped into his coach, and retired to Windsor; from whence he next day repaired to London, where he published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments. He taxed the commons with having encouraged a spirit of cabal and sedition, which sought to shake the foundations of the monarchy, and raise an arbitrary power on the ruins of the constitution. The demagogues were confounded and abashed at this instance of vigour in a prince

The parliament is suddenly dissolved.

A. C. 1681. like Charles, who had been always remarkable for facility and irresolution.

Charles triumphs over all opposition.

Their insolence and presumption were instantaneously succeeded by fear and dejection; and they retired quietly to their own homes, without having concerted any measures for their future conduct. On the other hand, many persons of consequence, who had hitherto adhered to a neutrality, declared for the king; convinced by his late resolute conduct, that he had courage to protect those who served him, against the persecution of his enemies. His declaration was no sooner published, than addresses were brought to him from all quarters of the kingdom, filled with the warmest expressions of duty; inveighing against the presumption of the commons; applauding the dissolution of the parliament; and extolling the king's conduct in the most abject strain of adulation. They were greedily received by the king, though he knew how little he could depend upon such professions; while some addresses, penned in a different style, were rejected with marks of contempt or displeasure *. Fitzharris was, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, brought to his trial, found guilty of writing the libel, and condemned as a traitor. He pretended he had been suborned by Bethel and Cornish the two sheriffs, and Treby the recorder of London, to forge discoveries about the popish conspiracy; and persisted in this declaration at Tyburn. Nevertheless, he had sent a letter to his wife, in which he declared this was altogether false; and indeed it was supposed to have been extorted from him by promise of pardon.

Charles did not enjoy his triumph with moderation. His temper, which had been always easy

* At this period the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son by the dutchess of Portsmouth, was created knight of the garter, in the tenth year of his age; and Laurence Hyde was created earl of Rochester.

and

and merciful, became arbitrary, and even cruel. A. C. 1681.
He entertained all the falſe witneſſes and informers who had been ſo infamouſly inſtrumental in ſhedding innocent blood. They had formerly ſerved the purpoſes of the oppoſite faction. They now offered their ſervices to the court, and met with a very favourable reception. The miniſtry ſeemed determined to retaliate and retort upon the whigs all the forgery and inhumanity which they had ſo long countenanced and ſupported. Fitzharris ſuffered in company with Oliver Plunket the titular archbiſhop of Armagh, a man of very moderate principles, who had always maintained a fair character, until he was accuſed by ſome profligate Iriſh prieſts, who came over to drive the trade of evidence. They were encouraged by the earl of Shaftſbury, though their information was abſurd and contradictory, and their characters were in all reſpects vile and infamous. They ſwore Plunket had collected a vaſt ſum of money, enliſted an army, and expected a deſcent from France to favour a maſſacre of the proteſtants. His defence conſiſted in an abſolute denial of all that was laid to his charge; notwithſtanding which he was convicted and condemned, and ſuffered death with great compoſure, proteſting his innocence to the laſt moment of his life.

Execution of Plunket, titular archbiſhop of Armagh.

The king, in order to convince the world of the ſuperiority he had acquired, committed Shaftsbury to the Tower, and at the ſame time impriſoned ſeveral other perſons of inferior rank, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as partizans of that party. Among theſe was one College, known by the name of the "Proteſtant joiner," a factious zealot, who had been uſed as a tool by the leaders of the party, and often ſpoke of the king and royal family with the moſt provoking inſolence. He had accompanied the city-members to Oxford, armed with ſword and piſtol, and was now preſented by the

Shaftſbury committed to the Tower.

Trial of College the proteſtant joiner.

A. C. 1681. grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. Though the bill was returned "ignoramus," the court would not desist from prosecuting this unhappy man, who was the first victim devoted to their vengeance. After having been exposed to the most inhuman acts of oppression, he was conveyed to Oxford, on pretence of his having uttered treasonable expressions in that city. He was indicted for treason, and tried at the assize before a partial judge and packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had prostituted their consciences against the catholics; and, when objections were made to their characters, the ministry observed that they were the same people whom the whigs had cherished and supported as evidences in the popish conspiracy. Nothing could be more savage and wicked than this kind of retaliation. College made a vigorous defence, and proved himself innocent, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced spectator; nevertheless, he was found guilty, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at his execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

Bill of indictment against Shaftsbury rejected by the grand jury.

Titus Oates, the original informer, was the only person of that stamp whose services were now rejected; he was, by an order of council, ignominiously expelled from Whitehall, and even forbid to come within a certain distance of that palace. But the king's resentment was chiefly directed against the earl of Shaftsbury, who had certainly harrassed him with the most implacable and indefatigable malice. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this nobleman. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, the witnesses were examined in open court, and swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even though they had

had not been already branded as perjured villains. A. C. 1681. Among his papers indeed there was a draught of an association, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the hand-writing of Shaftsbury, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any person, or signified his approbation of any such project. Bethel and Cornish had been succeeded in the office of sheriffs by Shute and Pilkington, men of the same principles; and they took care to summon a jury that rejected the bill of indictment against the earl: a circumstance so agreeable to the populace, that the whole city rung with acclamations.

In Scotland the court met with no opposition, even in the most arbitrary measures. The duke of York as king's commissioner had assembled the parliament of that kingdom in July. They passed an act, acknowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood; and that no law or consideration could alter the succession: they enacted another statute for imposing upon persons in office a test-oath, acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience: a clause, however, was admitted in favour of the protestant religion, ratifying an old confession of faith, in which the maxim of resistance was inculcated; so that the act was a collection of absurd contradictions, patched up in a hurry by people of different parties. A great number of ecclesiastics resigned their livings, rather than assent upon oath to such inconsistencies: the earl of Argyle refused to take it, without an explanation. He was a conscientious nobleman, of the presbyterian persuasion; he had adhered to the king in all his adversity, and been restored to his paternal honours and estate. Affairs of Scotland.

A. C. 1681. He was afterwards unjuſtly convicted and condemned for "leaſing making," upon an old abſurd ſtatute; and obtained his pardon. When the courtiers in Scotland propoſed that the princes of the blood ſhould be exempted from the teſt-oath, he argued ſtrenuouſly againſt this exception; obſerving that the danger to which the proteſtant religion was chiefly expoſed aroſe from the poſſible perverſion of the royal family. By this oppoſition, he incurred the duke's diſpleaſure; which, however, that prince carefully diſſembled. When the oath was tendered to Argyle, he ſaid he took it as far as it was conſiſtent with itſelf and the proteſtant religion; he declared he did not mean to bind himſelf up from endeavouring, conſiſtently with his loyalty and conſcience, to effect any alteration that might prove advantageous to church or ſtate. For this expreſſion he was committed priſoner to the caſtle, tried for leaſing-making and perjury, convicted, and condemned to death. The king, however, ordered the execution of the ſentence to be ſuſpended until his pleaſure ſhould be farther known; in the mean time the earl eſcaped from his confinement, and took refuge in Holland. The partiſans of the duke pretended that he had no deſign againſt the life of Argyle; but only againſt the hereditary juriſdictions, by which he maintained a very dangerous authority in the highlands.

The earl of Argyle condemned.

Cruelties exerciſed upon the covenanters of that kingdom.

The fanatics in Scotland continued to inſult the law, through a miſguided zeal for religion. They were actuated by two furious preachers, called Cameron and Cargill; the firſt was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh, after he had publiſhed a declaration at Dumfries, renouncing his allegiance to the king, becauſe he had broke the covenant. Cargill was taken and executed, together with one Hackſton, who had been concerned in the murder of archbiſhop Sharpe. This man was deſperately wounded when taken.

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He was tried in a ſummary way, leſt his death ſhould anticipate the ſtroke of juſtice. He endured the amputation of his hands without ſhrinking; and then aſked, with great compoſure, if they choſe to cut off his feet. He was afterwards hanged, and his heart being cut out, was ſeen to palpitate on the executioner's knife. About fifteen perſons, male and female, ſuffered death rather than ſay, "God "bleſs the king;" for, upon this condition, the duke offered to ſpare their lives. They gloried in their ſufferings, and died in tranſports of joy. At length the duke, pitying their infatuation, put a ſtop to the executions, and ordered thoſe poor deluded wretches to be kept to hard labour in a houſe of correction. In other reſpects, he perſecuted the preſbyterians with great ſeverity, and even incurred the imputation of barbarity, by ſeeming curious to obſerve the agonies of ſome wretches who were put to the torture by the deſpotiſm of the government. The king having now obtained a complete victory over all oppoſition, the duke repaired to London, that he might ſhare the fruits of his brother's good fortune; and acquired ſuch an influence over Charles, that he in effect governed the three kingdoms. He made another voyage to Scotland by ſea, in the Dolphin frigate, which, chancing to ſtrike upon a ſand-bank in the paſſage, was loſt. The duke ſaved himſelf in the long-boat, with a few perſons whom he named for admittance. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have ſaved ſome obſcure prieſts, and a number of favourite dogs, while many perſons of diſtinction were left to periſh. Such was the loyalty of the ſhip's crew, that when they ſaw him ſafe in the boat, they expreſſed their joy in loud acclamations, though they knew that they themſelves would be drowned in a few moments. The government of Scotland he left in the hands of the earls of Aberdeen and Queenſberry: the

A. C. 1681.

L'Eſtrange. Burnet. Rapin. Ralph. Hume.

A. C. 1862.

firſt

A. C. 1682. first was chancellor and the other treasurer of that kingdom, which they ruled with rods of iron. The Scots, since the restoration, had been subjected to such a succession of tyrants, that the spirit of liberty was almost extinguished in the nation. The imposition of the test oath was attended with such acts of oppression, that many thousands resolved to withdraw themselves into another country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied them at home; and they sent up agents to London to treat with the proprietors of Carolina about their settling in that colony. Yet, in the midst of all this despotism and national calamity, the duke had found means to conciliate the affections of the nobility and clergy; insomuch that the prelates of the kingdom wrote a letter to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, extolling in the most hyperbolical terms the duke's mild and upright administration, and in particular his affection to the church.

The king finds means to influence the elections of the magistracy in London.

The king finding his authority absolute, resolved to humble the presbyterians, and even practised the most unjustifiable methods for the gratification of his revenge; in which he was instigated by the violent counsels of his brother. The nonconformists were rigorously prosecuted, on the statute enacted in the reign of queen Elizabeth; all magistrates, judges, justices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning towards republican principles, were divested of their employments, and their places filled with approved tories. The clergy testified their devotion to the court, in their writings and sermons: the pulpits resounded with the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and the king received an infinite number of addresses, professing the utmost abhorrence of the principles avowed in the association which had been found among Shaftsbury's papers. The mutual animosity

animosity between the two parties was now inflamed into rage and rancour: and Charles declared himself the head of a faction. The city of London still maintained its independence, and the sheriffs influenced the grand jury in such a manner, as skreened the presbyterians of that capital from oppression. Sir John Moor, the mayor, had been gained over to the court interest; and he named two persons for sheriffs who he knew would be agreeable to the ministry. The common-hall and the citizens taking the alarm, insisted upon an election by liveries, and Papillon and Dubois were elected by a great majority: nevertheless, the mayor carried on a separate poll in favour of North and Rich; and, being supported by the ministry, forced them upon the public. In the same irregular manner he secured a successor in the mayoralty, whom he knew devoted to the king's commands. This was a point of great importance to Charles, and so well understood by the earl of Shaftsbury, that he thought proper to quit the kingdom, and fix his residence in Holland; that very country, the ruin of which he had planned in the cabinet, and urged in parliament in the remarkable words "Delenda "est Carthago." The duke of York, now that the magistracy of London was at his devotion, sued alderman Pilkington on a writ of Scandalum magnatum, for having said of him, when he heard of his return from Scotland, "He has already burned "the city, and now he is coming to cut all our "throats." For this indiscreet expression he was cast in damages to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds. Sir Patience Ward, who gave evidence in his behalf, being sued for perjury, was convicted and condemned to the pillory. The earl of Sunderland had been dismissed from his office of secretary of state when he voted for the bill of exclusion, and his place had been filled with lord Con-

A. C. 1682.

Rapin. Ralph.

A. C. 1682. Conway; but upon this nobleman's reſignation, Sunderland was taken again into favour, and by ſome people ſuſpected of having joined the excluſioniſts, on purpoſe to learn and betray their ſecrets to the miniſtry †.

A. C. 1683. Charles was at this time ſecure of the magiſtracy in London, but he foreſaw a ſtrong oppoſition at the next election, and that he would be every year expoſed to the ſame ſtruggles, and oppoſed, not only in London, but likewiſe in all the corporations which were under presbyterian management. While that intereſt prevailed he could never expect to ſee a parliament propitious to his deſires; and he was ſo much involved in debts and difficulties, that he could hardly ſubſiſt without a parliamentary ſupply: he therefore formed a project for raiſing a deſpotic authority over all the corporations of England. He began with London, againſt which he iſſued a writ of "Quo warranto," to enquire into the validity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two inſtances. They were charged with having impoſed a toll, in order to defray the expence of rebuilding their markets after the fire of London, and of having preſented an addreſs to the king, containing a ſcandalous reflection upon his majeſty and his adminiſtration. The cauſe was tried in the court of King's-Bench, and Treby and Pollexfen pleaded as counſellors for the city: they proved, that all corporations had a power to make bye-laws; that ſubjects were inveſted with an inherent right to petition the king; that the reflection in the addreſs charged upon them as ſcandalous, was not levelled at the king, but his evil counſellors, who

He ſeizes the charters of the city.

† Prince Rupert, the duke of Lauderdale, the earls of Nottingham and Shaftsbury, died in the courſe of this year; and Mr. Thyn was aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of London by count Coningſmark, two of whoſe accomplices were executed at Tyburn.

had

had adviſed him to prorogue the parliament; and they expatiated upon the injuſtice of annihilating a whole corporation for the faults of their magiſtrates, who were liable to proſecution as individuals. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the judges, who were wholly influenced by the miniſtry, declared that the city of London had forfeited its privileges; and that its charter was at the king's diſpoſal. The judgment, however, was not recorded until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. The citizens of London were confounded and diſmayed at this tranſaction. A common-council being aſſembled, the majority agreed to ſubmit to the king's pleaſure, before the ſentence ſhould be recorded. They accordingly preſented a petition to that effect; and the king offered to reſtore their charter, on the following conditions: That no mayor or other officer of the commonalty ſhould exerciſe his office until his election ſhould be confirmed under the king's ſign manual: That, in caſe his majeſty ſhould diſapprove of their choice of a mayor and ſheriffs, they ſhould proceed to a new election; and provided the ſecond ſhould be diſagreeable to the king, he ſhould appoint perſons of his own nomination; That the mayor and court of aldermen ſhould be empowered to diveſt any alderman of his office, by the king's permiſſion: that ſhould any alderman, after his election be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward ſhould be obliged to chuſe another; and, ſhould he prove unacceptable to the court, a third ſhould be elected by the court itſelf; and that the juſtices of the peace in London ſhould act only by virtue of the king's commiſſion. Theſe were ſevere terms, to which, however, the common-council ſubmitted by a majority of eighteen voices. Other corporations, ſeeing the fate of London, were eaſily induced to ſurrender their charters into the hands of the king, from whence they were not retrieved

A. C. 1683

Other corporations voluntarily ſurrender their charters.

A. C. 1683. trieved but by the payment of considerable sums of money.

Plan of an insurrection against the government.

Such an arbitrary and cruel administration could hardly fail to produce designs against the government, in a nation abounding with people who entertained even the most extravagant notions of liberty. The earl of Shaftsbury, even before the last parliament, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russel and Grey, to rise in arms and oppose the duke's succession at the death of Charles: they afterwards associated the earls of Essex and Salisbuty with them in the above design; but the imprisonment of Shaftsbury interrupted their consultations. These, however, were renewed when the new sheriffs were imposed upon the city; insurrections were planned, and correspondencies established in different parts of the kingdom. The confederates depended chiefly on the city of London, which was devoted to Shaftsbury, who, being afraid of trusting himself in any other place, lurked among the citizens, meditating the most desperate schemes that blasted ambition and revenge could dictate. The conspirators met at the house of one Shepherd, a wine merchant, in the city; they proposed their friends should rise in arms in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. The duke of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Armstrong viewed the guards; and were of opinion that they might be easily attacked and reduced. They agreed to a declaration for justifying their design to the public; but the enterprize was delayed in consequence of an intimation from Trenchard, who had undertaken to head the rising in the West, and now gave them to understand that he could not for some weeks be ready to take the field. Shaftsbury was so enraged at the delay, as well as intimidated by the authority which the king had established in the city, that he retired to Amsterdam,

LORD RUSSELL.

sterdam, where he died very little regretted; tho' A. C. 1683
it must be allowed, that notwithstanding all his inconstancy, party-rage, dissimulation, and ruinous ambition, he was one of the most able and upright judges that ever presided in the court of chancery.

The chiefs of the conspiracy, after his departure, were the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the lords Russel and Howard, Algernoon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the famous patriot who opposed Charles I. in the tax of ship-money: they corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents of Scotland, and still resolved to prosecute the scheme of insurrection, though they differed widely from each other in their motives. Monmouth aspired to the crown; Russel and Hambden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was a professed republican; Essex seemed to cherish the same principles; and lord Howard was an abandoned nobleman, who sought only to gratify his own interest and ambition. There was likewise a set of subordinate conspirators, consisting of colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer; lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London; Ferguson, an hot headed, factious, independent minister, who had been one of Shaftsbury's tools; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London: but of these none had access to the lords, except Rumsey and Ferguson. The inferior order at their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions: they proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, possessed a farm on that road, called the Rye-house, whence the conspiracy was denominated "the "Rye-house plot." They deliberated upon stop- Rye-house plot discovered by Keiling.

A. C. 1683. ping the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and ſhooting him from the hedges. It was likewiſe propoſed that his guards ſhould be engaged by forty horſe under Walcot, while Rumſey ſhould aſſaſſinate his perſon. In the midſt of theſe conſultations the houſe in which the king reſided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place ſooner than he intended: ſo that the conſpirators were diſappointed in their aim of diſpatching him on his return to London; and this eſcape was afterwards magnified by the courtiers, as an interpoſition of providence. One of the conſpirators, whoſe name was Keiling, finding himſelf in danger of a proſecution for being concerned in arreſting the mayor of London, at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, the two excluded ſheriffs, reſolved to earn his pardon by diſcovering this plot to the miniſtry. Colonel Rumſey, and Weſt a lawyer, no ſooner underſtood that this man had informed againſt them, than they agreed to ſave their lives by turning king's evidences, and ſurrendered themſelves accordingly. Shephard being apprehended, confeſſed all he knew, and warrants were iſſued againſt the chiefs of the conſpiracy. Monmouth abſconded, Grey eſcaped from the meſſenger by whom he had been arreſted. Ruſſel was committed to the Tower; Howard, being found concealed in a chimney, was baſe enough to purchaſe pardon by betraying his friends: he informed againſt Eſſex, Sidney, and Hambden, who were immediately ſecured, and many other conſpirators detected and impriſoned.

Trial of lord Ruſſel. Walter was firſt brought to trial, and condemned, together with Hone and Rouſe, upon the evidence of Rumſey, Weſt, and Shephard: they died with compoſure, acknowledging the juſtice of the ſentence by virtue of which they were executed.

cuted. The ſame witneſſes were produced againſt A. C. 1683.
lord Ruſſel, whom, however, they accuſed with great reluctance. He was the beſt beloved nobleman in the kingdom, and even his enemies could not help revering his virtues. The lord Howard ſwore he was engaged in the deſign of an inſurrection, but all three acquitted him of any ſhare in the ſcheme of aſſaſſination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the deſign in which he really was concerned, though the laws againſt treaſon were wreſted for his conviction. After his condemnation the king was ſtrongly ſolicited in his behalf. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchaſe his pardon of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth with the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds; lord Ruſſel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merits of her father in behalf of her huſband. Charles was inexorable: he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Ruſſel; he deeply reſented that eagerneſs and perſeverance with which he had oppoſed him in the late parliaments; he had even denied the king's power of remitting the barbarous part of the ſentence pronounced againſt lord Stafford. Charles now mitigated his doom into ſimple decapitation, ſaying, "My lord Ruſſel ſhall find I am poſſeſſed of that "prerogative which he thought fit to deny me in "the caſe of lord Stafford." Lord Cavendiſh, the intimate friend of Ruſſel, offered to effect his eſcape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a priſoner in his room; the duke of Monmouth ſent a meſſage to him, importing that he would ſurrender himſelf, if he thought that ſtep would contribute to his ſafety. Lord Ruſſel generouſly rejected both theſe expedients, and reſigned himſelf to his fate with admirable fortitude. His

A. C. 1683. lady, that he might not be ſhocked in his laſt moments, ſummoned up the reſolution of a heroine, and parted from him without ſhedding a tear. "Now (cried he) the bitterneſs of death is paſt;" and afterwards behaved with ſurpriſing ſerenity of temper, exhibiting ſome extraordinary marks of good humour. On the day that preceded his death his noſe beginning to bleed, he ſaid to Dr. Burnet, who attended him, "I ſhall not now let blood to "divert this diſtemper; that will be done to-mor-"row." Immediately before he was conveyed to the ſcaffold he wound up his watch, ſaying, with a ſmile, "Now I have done with time, and muſt "henceforth think ſolely of eternity." The ſcaffold was erected in Lincoln's inn-fields, that the triumph of the court might appear the more conſpicuous in his being conveyed through the whole city of London. Even the populace wept as he paſſed along in the coach with Tillotſon and Burnet. On the ſcaffold he preſented a paper to the ſheriffs, expreſſing his zeal againſt popery, proteſting his own innocence with regard to any deſign againſt the king's life. He prayed God would preſerve his majeſty, and the proteſtant religion; and, without the leaſt change of countenance, calmlyſubmitted to the ſtroke of the executioner.

And of Algernoon Sidney.

The trial of Ruſſel was followed by that of Algernoon Sidney, brother to the earl of Leiceſter, a bold commonwealth's man, in whom the ſpirit of the antient republics ſurvived. He had been deeply concerned in the war againſt the king's father, though he vigorouſly oppoſed the uſurpation of Cromwell. He afterwards uſed all his endeavours to prevent the reſtoration, and choſe to live in voluntary exile, until his private affairs required his preſence in England; then he ſolicited and obtained

ALGERNOON SIDNEY.

ed the king's pardon. Notwithſtanding this indulgence, he joined the popular party, and entered eagerly into all their ſchemes againſt the government, in hope of ſeeing at laſt a perfect republic eſtabliſhed. Lord Howard was the ſole witneſs that appeared againſt him: but the proſecutors produced ſome Diſcourſes upon government, found among his papers; and affirmed that theſe were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was raiſed, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance, in caſe of tyranny and oppreſſion; and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of a ſingle perſon. There was nothing treaſonable in theſe doctrines. The papers appeared to have been long written. They could neither prove them to be in his hand-writing, nor that he had ever communicated them to any perſon upon earth: and he obſerved, in his own defence, that in a charge of treaſon, the law abſolutely required two living witneſſes. All theſe arguments were urged without effect. A jury had been packed for his trial, and the charge was given againſt him with great virulence, by the inhuman Jeffries, now chief-juſtice. He was convicted of courſe, and in a few days executed. He complained of the iniquity of his ſentence, by which he loſt his life; but far from denying his connections with Ruſſel, and the other conſpirators, he gloried in his ſufferings for the good old cauſe, in which, from his early youth, he had been inliſted. A. C. 1683.

Howard being the ſole evidence againſt Hamden, this laſt was indicted for a miſdemeanour only: and caſt in a fine of forty thouſand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Briſtol, one of the conſpirators, had fled to the Weſt-Indies, from whence Fatal catastrophe of the earl of Eſſex.

A. C. 1683. he was now brought back to England. He submitted to the king's mercy, and was executed. Sir Thomas Armſtrong had been outlawed for the conſpiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh the Engliſh miniſter, who ſent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was intitled by the ſtatute, as the time preſcribed for his ſurrendering himſelf was not yet elapſed. Jeffries declared he was not intitled to the benefit of the ſtatute, becauſe he had not ſurrendered voluntarily: he inſulted him from the bench, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he underwent with great reſolution. No incident that diſtinguiſhed this period was more remarkable than the death of the earl of Eſſex, priſoner in the Tower, who, on the morning of Ruſſel's execution, was found murdered in his apartment, his throat being cut from ear to ear. Though the coroner's inqueſt brought in their verdict ſelf-murder, and the earl had been known ſubject to fits of melancholy, ſome circumſtances ſeemed to countenance a ſuſpicion of his having fallen by another hand; and that ſuſpicion did not even reſpect the king and his brother, who happened that morning to be in the Tower, which for many years before they had not viſited. This, however, is a circumſtance which might naturally be interpreted in their favour; for had they really been concerned in ſuch an atrocious crime, they would have hardly appeared upon the ſcene; a ſtep which could not fail to arouſe the ſuſpicion of the public. Two children declared, that they ſaw a hand throw a bloody razor from the caſement. Lady Eſſex made a very minute inquiry into every circumſtance relating to this tragedy, and communicated all the particulars to Dr. Burnet, who ſays there was not the

the leaſt foundation for a proſecution. He informs us alſo, that the earl was not only ſubject to gloomy fits of the ſpleen, but a profeſſed advocate for ſuicide. A. C. 1683.

The duke of Monmouth had engaged in a correſpondence with the earl of Argyle, by whoſe means he hoped to be joined, or at leaſt favoured by the covenanters in Scotland, who were indeed ſo cruelly oppreſſed by the government, that any riſque was preferable to the miſery they endured. Some of their leaders came to London, on pretence of treating with the proprietors of Carolina, and were conſulted by lord Ruſſel, and the other noblemen concerned in the Rye-houſe plot. Argyle, who then reſided in Holland, undertook to ſupply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would remit eight thouſand pounds for that purpoſe; and the agents from Scotland promiſed to bring their conſtituents into the field. Bailie of Jerviſwood, a man of talents and integrity, managed this tranſaction; and he was apprehended among the perſons concerned in the conſpiracy. Being ſent priſoner to Edinburgh, he ſuffered very rigorous treatment during a long confinement; and as the miniſtry could find no evidence againſt him, they inſiſted upon his purging himſelf by oath, of all ſuſpicion of having been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, otherwiſe they would hold him guilty. He objected againſt this impoſition as an act of the moſt inhuman tyranny; he proteſted his innocence and abhorrence of all deſigns againſt the life of his majeſty: but he refuſed to anſwer upon oath all the queſtions they might propoſe. He was therefore fined in ſix thouſand pounds: and detained in priſon to the manifeſt danger of his life. The duke of York was not ſatisfied with this puniſhment. He directed the Execution of Bailie in Scotland.

A. C. 1683. miniſtry to ſearch for evidence againſt Bailie; and they employed the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous means to gratify his revenge: at length the earl of Tarras, who had likewiſe been impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, and Murray of Philiphaugh, were induced by threats to ſwear that Bailie had tampered with them to riſe in rebellion; and this unhappy gentleman was convicted of treaſon. He was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard uſage and diſtemper; and the judges were ſo much afraid that death would diſappoint the duke's expectation, that they ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation. He to the laſt denied all knowledge of any deſign againſt the king's life, or that of the duke, looked upon death as a deliverance, and died like an old Roman.

The ſeverities exerciſed in the latter part of this reign were generally aſcribed to the influence of the duke, into whoſe hands the king, from indolence, had reſigned the adminiſtration. The detection of this conſpiracy furniſhed him with the means not only to cruſh the oppoſition, but alſo to wreak his vengeance upon his own particular enemies, under the colour of juſtice. The nation in general conſidered the aſſaſſination plot with horror, and as the people confounded this with the ſcheme for an inſurrection, the whole party that oppoſed the crown began to loſe their influence. Charles retrieved his popularity, and received the warmeſt addreſſes of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom. The univerſity of Oxford teſtified their zeal for his perſon and family, by a ſolemn judgment and decree paſſed in the convocation, againſt certain republican maxims and opinions, advanced and defended by Buchanan, Milton, Hobbes, Goodwin, Baxter, and other writers. There they declared

declared damnable and impious doctrines, serving to corrupt the morals and the minds of turbulent people, to excite tumults and rebellions, overturn states and kingdoms, and encourage regicide and atheism. In the midst of these prosecutions, the princess Anne, second daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark; and the nuptials were celebrated in London. As this city had not yet formally acknowledged their acquiescence in the sentence awarded against them, the king ordered the judgment on the "Quo warranto," to be recorded: then he seized the government into his own hands, and sent a commission to William Pritchard, continuing him in the office of mayor during his pleasure. He likewise confirmed the two sheriffs under the same restriction, but dismissed the recorder, and appointed another in his place.

A. C. 1683.

The princess Anne married to prince George of Denmark.

The credit and power of the duke of York were now become terrible even to the ministry; and the earl of Hallifax resolved to balance them with another influence. He discovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, and prevailed upon him to send two submissive letters to the king, which awakened all the paternal tenderness of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, and even endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between him and the duke of York. He prevailed with him to disclose the particulars of the conspiracy, upon promise that his testimony should never be produced against any of his friends and adherents. He called an extraordinary council, to tell the members that Monmouth was a sincere penitent; and had declared his resolution to avoid all such criminal designs for the future: a declaration to this purpose was inserted in the Gazette. Monmouth finding himself disgraced with all his party by this conduct,

The king is reconciled to Monmouth.

no

A. C. 1683. no sooner obtained his pardon in form, than he denied he had ever made any such confession. His partisans believed this assertion, and declared the whole was a fiction of the ministry. Charles was so provoked by Monmouth's duplicity, that he banished him from his presence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He retired to Holland, where he was hospitably received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards corresponded with his father, whose fondness for him revived; though he carefully concealed it from the knowledge of the duke of York. In the month of September, the king sent a fleet, under the command of the earl of Dartmouth, to demolish the town and castle of Tangier, which he could no longer maintain without a parliamentary supply. The mole was entirely destroyed, and the garrison being brought over to England, helped to form a little army, which was kept up to over-awe the malcontents of the kingdom.

who nevertheless is soon disgraced.

Charles no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with Spain, and renewed his connections with Lewis king of France, against whose interest he had never acted without reluctance. Lewis, after the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers dismissed their forces, kept a great army on foot, dictated to the neighbouring states, and seemed to think himself within reach of universal monarchy. He erected chambers at Metz and Brisac for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. These courts of jurisdiction summoned princes to appear before them, and issued decrees occasionally, expelling them from their dominions. Lewis took possession of the free town of Strasburg. He demanded Alost of the Spaniards; and, in consequence of

Sketch of affairs on the continent.

of their refuſing to cede that place, reduced Luxemburgh. He ſent a fleet to bombard Genoa, becauſe that ſtate had ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; and they were fain to deprecate his reſentment by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions. Spain was ſo exaſperated at the inſolence of the French monarch, that, without conſidering her own weakneſs, ſhe declared war againſt him; and had the mortification to ſee him over-run all the Spaniſh Netherlands, without oppoſition. The prince of Orange in vain endeavoured to intereſt Holland and England in the quarrel. The French intereſt prevailed among the States-general, and Charles had neither means nor inclination to embark in the diſpute. The emperor of Germany had oppreſſed his Hungarian ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that they were driven to deſpair. The French miniſters fomented their indignation, and they took arms under count Tekeli. This nobleman, finding himſelf unable to cope with the whole imperial power, ſolicited the protection of the Turks, who actually invaded Germany, and penetrated as far as Vienna, which they inveſted. The king of France aſſembled an army on the frontiers of the empire, in full confidence that Vienna would be taken, and the emperor ruined; and that the princes of Germany would appeal to him for protection. The city was already reduced to extremity by the grand vizier Cara Muſtapha, at the head of one hundred and thirty thouſand men, when John Sobieſki king of Poland, marching to the relief of the place, compelled them to abandon the ſiege; and, on the ſecond day of September, defeated them with great ſlaughter. A. C. 1683. Burnet. Rapin. Ralph. A. C. 1684.

At this period, Charles reigned as abſolute as any monarch in Chriſtendom; and his government was ſullied with numberleſs inſtances of partiality and

A. C. 1684. and oppreſſion. Cruelty was not natural to his diſpoſition; and therefore we muſt impute them to the ſanguinary temper of his brother, which he had not reſolution enough to reſtrain. That he diſapproved of his conduct in many caſes, is highly probable. He appeared diſſatisfied and unhappy even in the midſt of his ſucceſs and triumphs over his enemies. He was even heard to ſay, "Brother, "I am too old to go again to my travels; you "may, if you pleaſe." This expreſſion was probably uſed in anſwer to ſome violent propoſal of the duke. The earl of Danby was now releaſed upon bail, after a long impriſonment. Lord Petre, one of the popiſh noblemen, committed on the evidence of Dangerfield, had died in the Tower, after having written a letter to the king; in which he, on the faith of a dying man, proteſted his own innocence. The other four were admitted to bail, although the former judges had declared, that it was not in their power to enlarge, upon any ſecurity whatſoever, a peer of the realm, who had been committed by the parliament. The duke of York was not ſo favourable to his friends, as implacable towards his enemies. Dutton Colt, who had been member of the three laſt parliaments, was accuſed of having called the duke a papiſt; of having declared he would be hanged at his own gate, rather than ſuffer ſuch a prince to aſcend the throne; and of having reviled him with many expreſſions of abuſe. For theſe offences, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand pounds. The ſame fine was awarded againſt Titus Oates, for having ſaid that the duke was a traitor. Two indictments for perjury were laid againſt him, but theſe were not tried till the next reign; in the mean time he remained in priſon. Since the detection of the Rye-houſe plot, two and thirty perſons were con-

The great credit, and arbitrary diſpoſition of the duke of York.

demned in ruinous fines, and ſome of theſe likewiſe ſentenced to the pillory. When Charles had obtained poſſeſſion of all the charters that conſtituted the corporations in England, he publiſhed a declaration, thanking his ſubjects in the moſt affectionate terms, for having repoſed ſuch confidence in their ſovereign; aſſuring them he would uſe it with moderation, and convince the moſt extravagant republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the people's rights, ſo it was the ſureſt ſupport of their liberties. A. C. 1685.

He was actually ſuppoſed to have planned a total change in his conduct. Thoſe who undertake to juſtify or excuſe his character, affirm that he intended to emancipate himſelf from that intolerable ſlavery in which he was held by his brother; to ſend the duke of York beyond ſea, or into Scotland, to recal Monmouth, and aſſemble a free parliament. If this was the caſe, death anticipated the execution of his laudable deſign. He was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplectic fit; after which he languiſhed a few days, and on the ſixth of February expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign. Notwithſtanding the errors in his conduct, and the blemiſhes in his character, he was perſonally beloved by the people, who were overwhelmed with grief and aſtoniſhment at his death. This ſorrow and ſurpriſe, co-operating with the terror of his ſucceſſor, and the deteſtation of popery, ingendered a ſuſpicion of his having been taken off by poiſon; but this, upon inquiry, appeared without foundation. During his laſt illneſs, he received the ſacrament from the hands of a catholic prieſt, and died in that communion. Two papers, written with his own hand, in defence of the Romiſh religion, were found in his cloſet; and the duke imprudently ordered them The king's death.

to

A. C. 1685. to be publiſhed. They ſerved no other purpoſe than that of ſtigmatizing the memory of his brother, and confirming the opinion of the public with regard to his own bigotry.

His character.

Charles II. was in his perſon tall and ſwarthy, and his countenance marked with ſtrong, harſh lineaments. His penetration was keen, his judgment clear, his underſtanding extenſive, his converſation lively and entertaining, and he poſſeſſed the talent of wit and ridicule. He was eaſy of acceſs, polite, and affable: had he been limited to a private ſtation, he would have paſſed for the moſt agreeable and beſt-natured man of the age in which he lived. His greateſt enemies allow him to have been a civil huſband, an obliging lover, an affectionate father, and an indulgent maſter: even as a prince, he manifeſted an averſion to cruelty and injuſtice. Yet theſe good qualities were more than over balanced by his weakneſs and defects. He was a ſcoffer at religion, and a libertine in his morals: careleſs, indolent, profuſe, abandoned to effeminate pleaſure, incapable of any noble enterprize, a ſtranger to manly friendſhip and gratitude, deaf to the voice of honour, blind to the allurements of glory, and, in a word, wholly deſtitute of every active virtue. Being himſelf unprincipled, he believed mankind were falſe, perfidious, and intereſted; and therefore he practiſed diſſimulation for his own convenience. He was ſtrongly attached to the French manners, government, and monarch: he was diſſatisfied with his own limited prerogative. The majority of his own ſubjects he deſpiſed or hated, as hypocrites, fanatics, and republicans, who had perſecuted his father and himſelf, and ſought the deſtruction of the monarchy. In theſe ſentiments, he could not be ſuppoſed to purſue the intereſt of the nation; on the contrary,

he seemed to think that his own safety was incompatible with the honour and advantage of his people. Had he been an absolute prince, the subjects would have found themselves quiet and happy under a mild administration; but harrassed as he was by a powerful opposition, and perplexed with perpetual indigence, he thought himself obliged, for his own ease and security, to prosecute measures which rendered his reign a misfortune to the kingdom; and intailed upon him the contempt of all the other powers in Europe. Yet that misfortune did not immediately affect the nation in its commerical concerns. Trade and manufacture flourished more in this reign, than at any other æra of the English monarchy. Industry was crowned with success, and the people in general lived in ease and affluence *. A. C. 1685. Burnet. Wellwood. Sheffield. Rapin.

* Charles had no issue by his queen, but left a numerous progeny of natural children, by different concubines; the dukes of Monmouth, Cleveland, Grafton, Richmond, and St. Albans, besides the undistinguished fruit of occasional commerce with a great variety of women.

In the reign of Charles II. the arts and sciences were cultivated with good success, tho' they were very little encouraged by the sovereign; ye he had himself made some proficiency in mechanics and chemistry, and was a good judge of genius. The most eminent men of the royal society, at its first institution, were the lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dr. Wilkins bishop of Chester, Mr. Robert Boyle, who had made great progress in natural philosophy, and Dr. Ward afterwards bishop of Exeter, a profound mathematician. This period likewise produced the immortal Newton, whose discoveries in nature will reflect eternal lustre on the nation that gave him birth; the learned Stillingfleet, the elegant, the rational Tillotson, besides many other excellent divines, such as Tennison, Patrick, Loyd, and Burnet, who distinguished himself by his history of the reformation. The practice of medicine was greatly improved by the judicious Sydenham. The witty degrelist Butler contributed more than any other person, by his poem of Hudibras, to bring fanaticism into contempt. The king admired this production, yet left the author to die in obscurity. Dryden shone unrivalled in poetry; but was vitious and incorrect, from the depravity of the public taste, and the hurry in which he was obliged to write for subsistence. Otway's tragedies

A. C. 1685. gedies are celebrated above all others, for warmth and pathetic tenderneſs. He lived utterly neglected, and died of hunger. Even the courtiers of this reign were inſpired with literary ambition. The duke of Buckingham acquired ſome reputation by writing the Rehearſal, to ridicule the falſe taſte and abſurdities of the dramatic writers. Rocheſter rendered himſelf famous for poignancy of ſatire and impurity. Wycherly diſplayed the genius of true comedy, tho' rude and licentious. The earls of Dorſet, Roſcommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with eaſe, ſpirit, and negligence. Hallifax poſſeſſed refined talents; the writings of Sir William Temple are entertaining and inſtructive.

JAMES

JAMES II.

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IMmediately after the deceaſe of Charles, his brother James was proclaimed in London, without the leaſt tumult or ſhadow of oppoſition. On the contrary, the people ſeemed to rejoice at his acceſſion. On the firſt day of his reign, he aſſembled the council at Whitehall. He diſclaimed arbitrary principles: declared he would maintain the religion eſtabliſhed by law, and defend the liberties of his people, for which he had already expoſed his life upon more than one occaſion. His ſpeech was printed and read with univerſal applauſe. All thoſe who poſſeſſed employments under the late king were continued in their reſpective offices by proclamation: this was another popular ſtep in the new monarch. The ſubjects did not ſeem much diſſatisfied even when he went publicly to maſs; but they began to be alarmed at a proclamation which he iſſued, for continuing the cuſtoms and exciſe, which had been granted to his brother only for life. He ordered Hudleſton to publiſh an account of his brother's dying in the Roman catholic faith; and produced the two papers which had been found in his cloſet. The funeral of that prince was celebrated without any ſolemnity, and at a very little expence. The earl of Rocheſter was appointed treaſurer; his brother Clarendon keeper of the privy-ſeal; and Hallifax, now a marquis, was created preſident of the council. The king received congratulatory addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom, and ſome of them couched in the moſt ſervile terms of adulation. He and his queen were crowned on the twenty third day of April, when the populace obſerved that the

A.C. 1684-5. James II. ſucceeds to the throne.

A.C.1684-5 royal diadem was too large for his head, and ſhook from ſide to ſide; a circumſtance from which they deduced a bad omen.

Servility of the Scottiſh parliament.

On the day of the coronation, the parliament of Scotland was aſſembled by the duke of Queenſberry, who repreſented the king's perſon as commiſſioner. That nobleman, though a faithful adherent to the royal family, aſſured the king that he could not ſerve him in any thing that ſhould contradict the laws of his country. James, in his letter to the Scottiſh parliament, inveighed againſt the fanatics, whom he termed murderers and aſſaſſins; and deſired the ſtates would take proper meaſures to ſecure the kingdom againſt their machinations. The commiſſioner told them, his majeſty was reſolved to maintain and protect the eſtabliſhed church, and the liberties of his ſubjects; and exhorted them to exterminate the fanatics. The earl of Perth, chancellor of that kingdom, extolled the king's virtues, and afterwards embraced the catholic religion; by which ſtep he ingratiated himſelf ſo much with James, that he was able to ſupplant the duke of Queenſberry. The parliament preſented an abject addreſs to the king on his acceſſion: they confirmed the act of the preceding reign for maintaining the eſtabliſhed religion: they annexed the exciſe to the crown: they enacted a ſtatute, decreeing the penalties of treaſon and confiſcation of goods, not only againſt thoſe who ſhould be preſent at conventicles, but even againſt ſuch as ſhould know and yet forbear giving teſtimony againſt traitors and nonconformiſts; and, in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they profeſſed their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions derogatory to the king's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute power.

Trial of Oates for perjury.

Before the meeting of the Engliſh parliament, which had been convoked for the nineteenth day of

of May, Oates was tried in the court of king's bench, upon two indictments of perjury; and convicted upon the evidence of above ſixty reputable witneſſes, nine of whom were proteſtants. He was ſentenced to pay a fine of two thouſand marks; to be ſcourged through the ſtreets by the hangman twice in three days; to ſtand in the pillory at different parts of London and Weſtminſter; to undergo this infamy once every year, and be impriſoned for life. Jeffries inſulted him from the bench, and the executioner performed his office with great ſeverity. He bore his fate with ſurpriſing reſolution, proteſting his innocence in the moſt ſolemn manner; was cheriſhed and ſupported by a numerous party, who looked upon him as a martyr to the proteſtant religion; and, in the ſubſequent reign, he obtained his liberty, with a penſion of four hundred pounds. Dangerfield, being alſo convicted of perjury, was ſentenced to be ſcourged, and to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds. After having undergone this corporal puniſhment, one Francis, a ſtudent in the law, reviled him with ſome acrimonious expreſſions; to which he replied with ſuch virulence, as provoked the aggreſſor to puſh a ſmall cane into his eye. Dangerfield died in two hours; and Francis, being convicted of the murder, was executed; notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of ſome perſons of great intereſt. A.C.1684-5

The parliament having met and choſen their ſpeaker, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, repeated the promiſes he had made to his council, touching the maintenance of the Engliſh church, and the liberties of the people. He demanded a ſupply for the ſupport of the fleet and the occaſions of the crown, aſſuring them that the more liberal they ſhould be, he would always be the better diſpoſed to meet them often. He gave them to underſtand, that the earl of Argyle had landed in Compliſance of the Engliſh parliament.

A.C.1684-5 Scotland, with a view to excite a rebellion, for which purpoſe he had brought arms and officers from Holland, and publiſhed two manifeſtos, accuſing the king of tyranny and uſurpation. The parliament were charmed with the king's ſpeech; and that ſame day preſented an addreſs of thanks, in anſwer to which, he aſſured them they would find him a man of his word. The commons immediately voted, that all the revenues enjoyed by the late king ſhould be granted to his majeſty for the term of his life; and the upper houſe diſcharged the earl of Danby and the popiſh lords from their bail. They brought in a bill for reverſing the attainder of lord Stafford, on the ſuppoſition of his having been falſely accuſed; and it paſſed by a majority, though not without great oppoſition, and a proteſtation of thoſe lords by whom it was oppoſed. The commons, however, rejected the bill; for how complaiſant ſoever they might be to the king, they had no intention to encourage the Roman catholic party. Not but that the art of corruption had been exerciſed in a ſhameful manner, to procure ſuch a parliament as would enter into all the king's meaſures. The boroughs of England, by the ſeizure of their charters, were left intirely at the mercy of the court, and the corporation-men obliged to chuſe ſuch members as were agreeable to the adminiſtration. The two houſes voted, that they would aſſiſt the king with their whole power againſt the earl of Argyle and all other traitors. The committee for the affairs of religion prepared a vote for aſſiſting the king in defending the eſtabliſhed church; and another, that his majeſty ſhould be deſired, in an addreſs, to execute the laws againſt nonconformiſts: but theſe were rejected by the houſe, on the ſuppoſition that they would be diſpleaſing to the king, who was himſelf a nonconformiſt. But they unani-

mouſly paſſed the following vote, That the houſe repoſed itſelf intirely on the king's word and declaration, that he would ſupport and defend the Engliſh church as by law eſtabliſhed, which was dearer to them than their lives. The ſame expreſſion was uſed in the ſpeaker's ſpeech to the king, when he came to the parliament to paſs the bill for his revenue. A.C. 1684-5

The earl of Argyle thinking himſelf releaſed from the ties of allegiance by the injuries he had ſuſtained, waited at Amſterdam for a favourable opportunity to raiſe an inſurrection of his countrymen againſt James, who was the author of his misfortunes. He knew the preſbyterians of Scotland were reduced to deſpair by oppreſſion; and he did not doubt but they would join him at his firſt appearance. He held many conferences with the duke of Monmouth, who was likewiſe a refugee in Holland, and very well diſpoſed to act againſt the king of England; and they formed the ſcheme of a double inſurrection. Argyle perſuaded the duke to try his fortune among the whigs in the weſt of England, who loved him almoſt to adoration: but they were deſtitute of money to forward the undertaking, and Monmouth had received no aſſurances of being joined at his landing by any perſon of conſideration. At length, Argyle, being ſupplied with a ſum of money by a rich widow in Amſterdam, purchaſed arms and ammunition for his enterprize, and ſet ſail for Scotland, after having extorted the duke's promiſe that he would make a deſcent in England, as ſoon as he ſhould hear of Argyle's arrival in the Highlands. This nobleman embarked with ſome Scottiſh officers; and, on the fifth day of May being off the Orkneys, ſent his ſecretary on ſhore to ſound the inhabitants, by whom he was detained priſoner. The earl, diſappointed in this quarter, ſailed round to Dunſtaffnage; The earl of Argyle makes a deſcent in Scotland.

A.C.1684-5 nage, an old caſtle on his own eſtate, which h converted into a place of arms. He was immediately joined by five and twenty hundred of his own vaſſals and dependents: then he publiſhed his manifeſtos, and wrote circular letters to his friends; but they had been previouſly ſecured by an order of council, upon the news of his arrival at the Orkneys. By means of his three ſhips, and a great number of ſmall boats, he tranſplanted his men to the iſle of Bute, where he remained unactive until he received intelligence that three ſhips of war and ſome frigates were ordered to diſtreſs him by ſea, while the duke of Gordon, the marquis of Athol, and the earl of Arran, advanced againſt him by land, at the head of different bodies of forces. Thence he paſſed over into Argyleſhire, from whence he marched towards Dumbarton, after having moved his artillery and ammunition into another caſtle, and left a ſmall garriſon for its defence. The place was immediately taken, and his veſſels fell into the hands of the enemy. This loſs diſcouraged him and his followers to ſuch a degree, that they now thought of nothing but providing for their own ſafety. Finding themſelves hotly purſued from place to place, they diſperſed into ſmall bodies, that they might have the better chance for eſcaping. The earl himſelf, after having been wounded, thought proper to quit his horſe, and was taken by a peaſant, ſtanding up to his neck in water. Being conducted to Edinburgh, he began to prepare for death with the moſt chearful reſignation; and in a few days was beheaded, in conſequence of his former ſentence. Rumbold, owner of the Rye-houſe, who had accompanied him in this expedition, together with one Aylaffe, nearly allied to the old earl of Clarendon, were brought to trial in London, and condemned. Rumbold denied that the perſons in the Rye-houſe plot had ever

Is taken, and executed.

ever formed a resolution to assassinate the king. He laughed at the notion of divine hereditary right: believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal. He said he could not think God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and a few with boots and spurs to ride them at their pleasure. Aylaffe was examined by the king in person, who exhorted him to discover their correspondents in England, saying, "Mr. Aylaffe, you know it is in "my power to pardon you." He boldly replied, that although it was in his power, it was not in his nature: and the king would not disprove the truth of the assertion, for both were executed. A.C. 1684-5

The duke of Monmouth, according to his promise, sailed from the Texel with three vessels, on the twenty-fourth day of May, and on the eleventh day of June landed with about fourscore followers at Lyme in Dorsetshire, of which he took possession without resistance. Here he published a manifesto, conceived in very bitter terms against the king, whom he reproached as author of the fire of London, of the popish plot, the murder of Godfrey, the assassination of Essex, the dissolution of parliaments, the subornation of juries, the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression. He taxed him with having poisoned his brother; declared he himself was come to redress the grievances of the nation; that his mother had been the lawful wife of Charles; and he invited the people to join him in his laudable undertaking. The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their zeal and assistance in quelling this rebellion. They besought him to publish a proclamation, offering a reward of five thousand pounds to any person who should take the duke dead or alive: and they brought in a bill of attainder against him; which, The duke of Monmouth lands in the west of England.

A. C. 1685. in two days, paſſed through both houſes. They likewiſe voted a grant to the king of four hundred thouſand pounds for his preſent occaſions: then the parliament was adjourned. The country people flocked to the ſtandard of Monmouth ſo faſt, that in two or three days his army was augmented to two thouſand men; but he was not joined by any perſon of conſequence. Receiving intimation that the duke of Albemarle advanced with a ſtrong body of militia to block him up in Lyme, he marched to Axminſter; and Albemarle retreated with precipitation. At Taunton the duke of Monmouth was received amidſt the loud acclamations of the people: his army being conſiderably increaſed, he aſſumed the title of King, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. He then iſſued a proclamation, ſetting a price upon the head of the duke of York; a ſecond, declaring the preſent parliament a ſeditious aſſembly; and the third, denouncing Albemarle a traitor. On the twenty-firſt day of June he marched to Bridgewater, where he was likewiſe well received; and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Briſtol, the inhabitants of which were well affected to his perſon and deſign; but they were kept in awe by their governor, the duke of Beaufort. Monmouth underſtanding that the king's troops were on the march to give him battle, reſolved to retire to Bridgewater. He was refuſed admittance into Bath; but he entered Froome without oppoſition. The king was not a little perplexed and alarmed at his progreſs. The regular troops being diſperſed through different parts of the kingdom, he ordered the militia of the weſtern counties to be raiſed: he recalled ſix regiments of Engliſh and Scots that were in the ſervice of the States-general. The prince of Orange offered to come over and aſſiſt him in perſon; but this offer he declined. Having aſſembled

assembled about three thousand foot and dragoons, A. C. 1685.
he bestowed the command of this little army upon the earl of Feversham, nephew to the famous marechal de Turenne; and this nobleman took post at Sedgemore, a village in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, while the militia of that country was assembled by the dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, Albemarle, and the earl of Pembroke.

Monmouth, who had returned to Bridgewater, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, whose number every day increased, resolved to attack the earl of Feversham at Sedgemore. On the fifth of July, he began his march about eleven at night in profound silence; but falling in with Dumbarton's regiment, which happened to be in an advanced post, they alarmed the royalists, who were soon provided for his reception. The action began at day-break; and lord Grey, who commanded Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The duke, at the head of the infantry, maintained his ground with great gallantry, until he was charged in flank by the victorious horse of the enemy, and his men would no longer stand to their arms. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. He retired with about fifty horse; but these soon dispersed, and he rode towards Dorsetshire until his horse could carry him no farther. Then he alighted, and exchanging apparel with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themselves with straw. The shepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who, from his information and the sagacity of some hounds, detected the duke in this forlorn situation, with raw peas in his pocket, which he had gather-

Is defeated and brought to the block.

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A. C. 1685. ed in the fields to ſuſtain life. His ſpirit had quite forſaken him; and he manifeſted the meaneſt dejection. He wrote a piteous letter to the king, imploring his compaſſion; and another to the queen dowager, craving her mediation. She interceded for him, and obtained the king's promiſe to give him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the moſt abject terms. James aſked him ſeveral queſtions; deſired him to ſign a paper, declaring the late king had aſſured him that he had never been married nor contracted to the duke's mother. When he had made this acknowledgment, the king told him his crime was of ſuch a nature, that it could not be pardoned; and that he had nothing to do but to prepare himſelf for another world. The queen, who was preſent, is ſaid to have inſulted him in the moſt outrageous manner. The duke, perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his ſpirits, roſe and retired with an air of diſdain; nevertheleſs, he renewed his intreaties for life, and even begged a reſpite for a few days, which was denied. All hopes being vaniſhed, he compoſed himſelf for death, which he encountered with indifference. On the ſcaffold he profeſſed his ſorrow for the blood which had been ſhed; and declared he had ever meaned well to the nation. He touched the ax, and ſaid, it was not ſharp enough. He gave the executioner half of what he intended for his reward, telling him his ſervant would give the reſt, provided he ſhould perform his part with dexterity, and not behave ſo butcherly as he had done at the death of lord Ruſſel. The man was ſeized with an univerſal trepidation. When the duke laid down his head and made the ſignal, he ſtruck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but the

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ſheriff compelled him to reſume the work, which with three other ſtrokes he finiſhed. The head and body were buried immediately in the chapel of the Tower. Such was the lamentable fate of James duke of Monmouth, the darling of the Engliſh people. He was brave, ſoft, and gentle, ſincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and addicted to pleaſure. Lord Grey was alſo taken; but he compounded for his life, by paying large ſums of money, and diſcovering all the connections of Monmouth. A. C. 1685.

The king, however, was not ſatisfied with the vengeance he had taken. His officers acted with the moſt ſavage inhumanity towards the priſoners that were taken at Sedgemore. Feverſham ordered above twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the ſame manner at Bridgewater by colonel Kirke, a brutal ſoldier who had ſerved at Tangier. He continued to execute others occaſionally, for his diverſion, with ſuch circumſtances of wanton barbarity as are ſhocking to human nature. He ravaged the whole country, without making the leaſt diſtinction between friend or foe. He allowed his ſoldiers to live upon free-quarter, and his own regiment, which was the moſt outrageous, he diſtinguiſhed by the name of Kirke's lambs; an appellation ſtill remembered with horror in that part of the country. The inhumanity of this ruffian was properly ſeconded by the furious Jeffries, who was ſent on the weſtern circuit, as another miniſter of the king's vengeance. His natural brutality and thirſt of blood were inflamed with continual intoxication. He told the priſoners, that if they would ſave him the trouble of trying them, they might expect ſome favour; otherwiſe he would execute the law upon them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Cruelty of Kirke and Jeffries.

A.C. 1685. rity. Many poor wretches were thus decoyed into confeſſion; but they found no mercy. He threatened juries, intimidated witneſſes, rejected all interceſſion, and ſeemed to take pleaſure in the work of death. At Dorcheſter, he ordered nine and twenty perſons to be executed immediately after conviction. In this town two hundred and ninety-two received ſentence of death. He proſecuted the ſame work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty perſons were in this circuit ſacrificed, under colour of juſtice.

Execution of lady Liſle and others.

Lady Liſle, widow of one of the regicides, tho' herſelf a loyaliſt, was apprehended, in extreme old age, for having ſheltered in her houſe two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemore. She proved that ſhe had ordered her ſervant to carry an information againſt them to the next juſtice of the peace, as ſoon as ſhe knew in what enterprize they had been engaged. Twice the jury declared her not guilty. Jeffries ſent them back with dreadful menaces; and at laſt they were intimidated into a verdict, by which ſhe loſt her life. In vain was interceſſion made for this aged matron. The king lent a deaf ear to all that could be ſaid in her behalf; and ſhe ſuffered an ignominious death. One of the rebels having eſcaped to London, took refuge in the houſe of Mrs. Gaunt an anabaptiſt, whoſe life was one continued exerciſe of benevolence. She concealed and maintained this fugitive, who was ſuch an abandoned villain, that he informed againſt his protectreſs, for the reward and indemnity offered in a proclamation to thoſe who ſhould diſcover delinquents. He was pardoned and recompenſed for his treachery: and ſhe was burned alive for her beneficence. Thoſe people in the Weſt who eſcaped death, were ruined by fines, ſcourged, baniſhed, and impriſoned. Corniſh the ſheriff, who had been

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ſo active againſt the court, being accuſed of treaſon by Goodenough and Rumſey, was proſecuted ſo eagerly, that in the ſpace of one week, he was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death the perjury of the evidences appeared ſo flagrant, that the king himſelf expreſſed ſome regret; granted the eſtate to his family, and condemned the witneſſes to perpetual impriſonment. A ſurgeon of the name of Batteman, who had attended Oates with care and humanity, and cured him of the ſtripes he had received at the hands of juſtice, was accuſed of having uttered ſeditious diſcourſe againſt the government, and committed to priſon, where he loſt the uſe of his reaſon: nevertheleſs, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed. A. C. 1685.

Nothing could be more flouriſhing than the king's preſent ſituation. He had quelled two dangerous rebellions; trampled faction under foot; and obtained a parliament that complied with all his deſires. He ſaw a ſtanding army at his beck; heard the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance echoed from every corner, as articles of the Engliſh creed; and found himſelf courted by foreign ſtates, as a prince who had it in his power to regulate the intereſts of Europe. But he had nothing ſo much at heart as the converſion of his people to the catholic religion. His own zeal was in this particular reinforced by that of the queen, who was a bigotted Italian, and continually whetted by the importunities and exhortations of ſome hotbrained jeſuits, who had acquired the moſt abſolute influence and tyranny over his conſcience. His brother, even in his laſt agonies, diſſuaded him from endeavouring to reſtore the catholic religion in England, becauſe he thought it was a ſcheme extremely hazardous, and even impracticable. Don Pedro Ronquillo the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Bigotry of James.

A. C. 1685. dor, in his first audience observed to him, that he saw a great number of priests about his majesty's person; he therefore took the liberty to caution him against their importunities, lest he should repent of having listened to them, when it would be too late. The king took amiss the freedom of his advice; and asked, with an air of discontent, if the king of Spain consulted with priests. "Yes, "(replied Ronquillo) and for that reason our affairs "are so unprosperous." Pope Innocent XI. in a brief to James on his accession, after having commended his zeal for the catholic religion, expressed his apprehension that it might carry him too far; and, instead of contributing to the advancement of his own affairs, and the interest of religion, be of extreme prejudice to both. Notwithstanding these cautions, he resolved to proceed with his enterprize; as a previous step to which he thought it would be necessary to render himself absolute, and then he should be able to employ the most effectual means of converting his subjects.

Government of Ireland conferred upon Tyrconnel.

The duke of Ormond, who had deserved better of the royal family than any subject in the king's dominions, and was in all respects a nobleman of unblemished honour, had for some time governed Ireland as lord lieutenant. Being a conscientious protestant, he was now recalled. The king appointed a new privy-council for that kingdom, and many members were catholics; these daily increased, until they became the majority. The protestants were now scandalously oppressed, on pretence of their favouring Monmouth's rebellion; and at length the militia was wholly disarmed. Colonel Talbot, a furious papist, was impowered to model the army; and he dismissed the greater part of the protestant officers, filling their places with those of his own religion. After having performed this signal service, he came over to England, where

where he was created earl of Tyrconnel, and lieutenant-general of the Iriſh army, while the earl of Clarendon, though a proteſtant, was appointed lord-lieutenant of the kingdom. A. C. 1685.

The king's next ſtep was to augment his ſtanding army from ſeven thouſand to fifteen thouſand men. When the parliament met on the ninth day of November, he told them he had found by experience a militia altogether uſeleſs, and ſuch a ſtanding force abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the peace of the kingdom. He therefore demanded a proportionable ſupply for their maintenance. With reſpect to the catholic officers whom he had employed, he ſaid, they were men of approved fidelity; and that, after having enjoyed the benefit of their ſervices, in times of danger and difficulty, he would not expoſe them to misfortune, nor himſelf to the neceſſity of being without them, in caſe of another rebellion. He concluded with a declaration, that he would riſque his life for the true intereſt of the kingdom; and therefore he hoped, there would be no interruption of the harmony ſubſiſting between him and his parliament. The two houſes, notwithſtanding their exceſſive loyalty, began to be alarmed at the king's large ſtrides towards popery and arbitrary power. In the houſe of lords, the motion for an addreſs of thanks to the king for his ſpeech met with great oppoſition; and though it paſſed by a ſmall majority, the houſe reſolved to take the ſpeech into further conſideration. When it was read in the houſe of commons, a profound ſilence enſued. This was interrupted by the earl of Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate, who moved for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty. After a ſecond pauſe, lord Caſtleton oppoſed the motion; and the conſideration of it was referred till the twelfth day of November. Then they debated with great freedom upon the conſequences of a ſtanding army, and Prorogation of parliament.

A. C. 1645. and the demand of a further ſupply, after ſo much had been given. But the intereſt of the court predominated, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds were voted for the maintenance of the forces. Their complaiſance, however, gave way to their fears, when they conſidered that article of the ſpeech in which the king frankly told them, he had diſpenſed with the laws in favour of popiſh officers. In this addreſs, they thanked him for having quelled the rebellions; but they repreſented that the teſt-act rendered popiſh recuſants incapable of exerciſing any employment under the government. That as his majeſty had mentioned the ſervices of the Roman catholic officers, they would prepare a bill for exempting them from the penalties they had incurred; but as by continuing them in their employments, he aſſumed the power of diſpenſing with the laws; a power of the utmoſt conſequence with reſpect to the liberties of the people, and the ſecurity of religion; they humbly beſought his majeſty to give orders for quieting intirely the fears of his faithful ſubjects. To this addreſs the king replied, That he did not expect ſuch a remonſtrance from the commons, after he had demonſtrated the advantages that would ariſe from a perfect union between him and his parliament; but he declared that in whatever ſhape they might abuſe the confidence which he had repoſed in them, he ſhould ſtill punctually perform the promiſes he had made. This anſwer ſtruck them with ſuch a panic, that not a word was ſpoken for ſome time after they returned to their houſe. At length Cook member for Derby roſe up, ſaying, "I hope we are "all true-born Engliſhmen; and that a few hard "words are incapable of deterring us from doing "our duty." The majority were ſo intimidated, that they ſent him to the Tower for this honeſt expreſſion.

preſſion. They began to deliberate on ways and means for raiſing the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds which they had granted; and, in order to appeaſe the king, they reſolved to bring in a bill, impowering him to name a certain number of catholic officers to ſerve in the army. But as he could not obtain the extent of his wiſhes, he in a few days prorogued the parliament: the prorogation was continued from time to time, and at length it was totally diſſolved. A.C. 1685.

The earl of Stamford and lord Delamere had been committed to the Tower in July, upon a general accuſation of treaſon, and debarred all intercourſe with their friends, by word or writing. They found means, however, to petition the houſe of lords, who deſired the king would be pleaſed to declare the cauſe of their impriſonment. He told them thoſe two lords were accuſed of treaſon; and that he had given orders for trying lord Delamere in Cheſhire, where the crime was ſaid to have been committed. As he did not ſignify his intention with regard to the earl of Stamford, the lords ordered that nobleman to be tried by his peers, with the conſent of his majeſty. Delamere was likewiſe tried in the ſame manner, contrary to the king's firſt reſolution. The lords Howard and Grey, with another infamous informer, were produced in evidence againſt him. The two firſt had little or nothing to his prejudice: the laſt ſwore he correſponded with the duke of Monmouth; but no regard was paid to his depoſition, and the priſoner was acquitted. The earl of Stamford they admitted to bail, and he afterwards availed himſelf of a general pardon, which the king granted by proclamation, in the courſe of the ſucceeding year. By this time the earl of Arlington was dead, and his place of chamberlain beſtowed upon the earl of Mulgrave, who acquired a great ſhare of Trial of lord Delamere. Burnet. Rapin. Ralph.

A. C. 1686. the king's favour. Sunderland was appointed secretary of ſtate, and became, in effect, prime-miniſter.

Popery now appeared more dreadful to England than even the proſpect of ſlavery and temporal oppreſſion; and what aggravated the terrors of the catholic communion, and the animoſity againſt princes who profeſſed that religion, was a late meaſure of Lewis XIV. diametrically oppoſite to good faith, humanity, and the intereſt of his kingdom. He revoked the edict of Nantz, by which Henry IV. had ſecured his proteſtant ſubjects in the exerciſe of their religion. This law, which had been declared irrevocable, he repealed; and perſecuted thoſe unhappy people with ſuch ſeverity and injuſtice, that above half a million of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects fled from their native country into other realms, where they could enjoy liberty of conſcience. Together with great ſums of money, they exported from France thoſe arts and manufactures by which that kingdom had been enriched. Fifty thouſand of theſe refugees arrived in England, and were hoſpitably received by James, who treated them with great humanity; and affected to exclaim againſt the perſecuting ſpirit of the French monarch. They drew ſuch pathetic pictures of the cruel ſufferings they had undergone, as inflamed the people againſt the catholic religion; and the king's conduct in other reſpects did not ſerve to aſſuage their reſentment.

The French king revokes the edict of Nantz.

In Scotland the parliament was aſſembled by the earl of Moray, who in complaiſance to the king had changed his religion. He delivered to them a letter from his majeſty, recommanding to their care and humanity his poor catholic ſubjects, who had always been faithful to the crown, that they might enjoy the protection of the laws, without taking oaths that were repugnant to their conſciences

sciences and religion. This letter produced warm debates. At length a bill was brought in for indulging catholics with the private exercise of their worship; but it was violently opposed and deferred to further consideration. Then the king ordered the commissioner to prorogue the parliament; and, by virtue of his own prerogative, established liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom. His power in Ireland was no less absolute. Tyrconnel had dismissed almost the whole number of protestants that were in the army; and encroached so much on the civil government, that Clarendon was left absolutely destitute of authority. At last this nobleman was recalled, and Tyrconnel appointed lord-lieutenant. This was a ferocious bigot, who exercised such acts of oppression, and encouraged the catholics to such a pitch of insolence and power, that the disarmed protestants expected another massacre. Many thousands relinquished their lands and effects, and came over to England, where they could be sheltered from the barbarity of such a tyrant; and the merchants of England who traded to that kingdom, withdrawing their effects, the country was reduced to unspeakable distress. A. C. 1686.

Tyrconnel oppresses the protestants in Ireland.

In England, the king prosecuted his design more gradually. He dismissed four judges, who refused to assert his dispensing power, and filled their places with such as promised to be more ductile. He resolved to put their obedience to immediate proof. The coachman of Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, was directed to inform against him as a popish recusant employed in quality of colonel in the service. He was prosecuted for the sum of five hundred pounds, and pleaded the king's dispensing power. The plea was argued with great learning and vivacity before the judges, who gave it as their opinion, that the dispensing power was a prerogative inseparable from the kings of England. Thus

The king exercises a dispensing power.

A. C. 1686. all the fences to the conſtitution were at once thrown down. The king now admitted four popiſh lords into his council, namely, the lords Arundel of Wardour, Bellaſis, Dover, and the earl of Tyrconnel. The catholic worſhip was publicly performed, and the jeſuits erected colleges in different parts of the kingdom. Four catholic biſhops, conſecrated in the king's chapel, were ſent through the kingdom, to exerciſe their epiſcopal functions, under the title of apoſtolic vicars. Their paſtoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and diſtributed thro' all the different counties. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders; and a great number of prieſts and friars arrived in England. The whole adminiſtration was managed by catholics. The king ſent a circular letter to the biſhops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching on points of controverſy; a practice which ſerved only to foment animoſities. But this injunction was very little regarded by the proteſtant divines, who ſeeing their religion in ſuch eminent danger, expoſed the errors, abſurdities, and cruelty of the catholic communion, with ſuch learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public; and redounded to the immortal honour of thoſe virtuous champions, the chief of whom were Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Teniſon, Patrick, and Sherlock.

He favours the catholics.

Eſtabliſhes a new eccleſiaſtical court.

The king and his council were ſo diſpleaſed with thoſe endeavours, ſo expreſly contrary to the royal mandate, that they were reſolved to eſtabliſh a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion-court that ſhould enforce obedience. This was accordingly inſtituted, and compoſed of ſecular as well as eccleſiaſtical members, among whom were ſome catholics. The prelates were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter; but the metropolitan never took his place. Jeffries, now created

a peer and lord chancellor of England, was one of the lay-members: ſuch alſo were the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland. They were impowerd to exerciſe all ſorts of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; to correct abuſes in the ſpiritual laws, inquire into all offences, puniſh delinquents by cenſure, excommunication, ſuſpenſion, and depoſition; to examine ſtatutes, rules, and charters of colleges, and other eccleſiaſtical communities; and make ſuch corrections and alterations as they ſhould think proper. Doctor Sharp having preached at St. Anne's church upon a point of controverſy, the king, in a letter to the biſhop of London, deſired he might be ſuſpended. The prelate repreſented, that there was no law for ſuſpending a clergyman without a legal trial. Sharp himſelf preſented a ſubmiſſive petition to the king, of which no notice was taken. The biſhop of London had propoſed in the houſe of lords to examine the king's laſt ſpeech to his parliament; and was therefore extremely odious to the miniſtry. Being ſummoned before the new eccleſiaſtical court, he declined their juriſdiction, affirming, that as a biſhop he was ſubject to the metropolitan alone. His plea was over-ruled; he was ſuſpended from all epiſcopal functions, for having diſobeyed the king's order; and the biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, were veſted with the adminiſtration of his dioceſe. A. C. 1686.

This deciſion excited loud clamours among the people, who were ſtill more irritated, when they ſaw an army of fifteen thouſand men encamped on Hounſlow-heath in time of profound peace. A miniſter, whoſe name was Johnſon, publiſhed a paper, addreſſed to the officers and ſoldiers, repreſenting the guilt, the baſeneſs, and infamy, of ſerving as inſtruments to deſtroy the religion and conſtitution of their country. The author, being tried in the court of king's-bench, for having written Endeavours to make proſelytes.

A. C. 1686. a seditious libel, was convicted, fined in five hundred marks, set in the pillory, scourged from Newgate to Tyburn, and solemnly degraded: nevertheless, his performance produced a wonderful effect upon the soldiery. Miles Prance, the informer, was now tried and convicted of perjury: but his punishment was remitted, in consideration of his having voluntarily retracted his evidence, by which three innocent men had lost their lives: perhaps he would not have been so gently used, had not he professed the Roman catholic religion. The king became every day more and more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland sacrificed his religion to his interest, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rochester consented to a conference with some popish priests; but declared himself dissatisfied with their arguments, and refused to change. He lost his office of treasurer, which was put in commission; but he was gratified with a considerable pension. The king deprived his brother Clarendon of the privy-seal, which was given to lord Arundel. He condescended so far as to exhort Kirke to become a proselyte. That ruffian told him he was pre-engaged; for he had promised to the king of Morocco, that should he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Sends an ambassador to Rome.

James, to crown all his endeavours in behalf of the catholic communion, sent the earl of Castlemain with a splendid embassy to the pope, to acknowledge the king's spiritual obedience to his holiness, and reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic religion. This nobleman was received at Rome with the most mortifying indifference. Innocent was at variance with the French king. He looked upon James as the partisan and pensioner of this monarch. He dreaded the effects of his frantic zeal,

HYDE Earl of *ROCHESTER*.

zeal, and knew his connections with the jesuits, whom Innocent detested. Though he granted audiences to the ambassador, he always pretended to be seized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, in answer to this expostulation, advised him to travel in the cool of the morning, and repose himself during the heat of the day; otherwise the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health. All that he could obtain was a dispensation for father Peters, the king's confessor, permitting him to enjoy a bishopric, which, however, he did not obtain. The pope likewise sent over a nuncio to London; a compliment which he could not decently avoid. A.C. 1686. Burnet, Rapin, Ralph.

James, notwithstanding all discouragements, still persisted in his favourite design of converting the three kingdoms; and finding himself deserted by the church-party, he affected to cares the presbyterians. He sent a declaration to Scotland, granting full liberty of conscience to all his subjects of that kingdom, by virtue of his sovereign authority, his royal prerogative, and his absolute power, which all his people were bound to obey, without reserve or restriction. He, by the same power, annulled all laws enacted against Roman catholics; and abrogated all oaths by which nonconformists were rendered incapable of trust and office. The covenanters were not a little rejoiced, to find themselves delivered all at once from those restrictions in spirituals, of which they had so long complained; and the council thanked the king, in the name of the whole nation, for this mark of his princely clemency and indulgence. The success of this measure in Scotland, encouraged him to A.C. 1687. Publishes a declaration for liberty of conscience.

A. C. 1687. practiſe the ſame expedient in England. Accordingly, on the fourth day of April, he publiſhed a declaration for liberty of conſcience to the ſame effect, though he mentioned his abſolute power in more moderate terms, and ſaid he did not doubt of its meeting with the approbation of the parliament. It was ſo agreeable to all the nonconformiſts, that he received the warmeſt addreſſes of thanks from the anabaptiſts, quakers, independents, and preſbyterians. In theſe they extolled the regal power, which they had ſo long endeavoured to abaſe. They triumphed over the churchmen, and publiſhed many virulent invectives againſt the eſtabliſhed form of diſcipline. The king fomented this difference between two parties, to which he was equally averſe. In private converſation, he talked of nothing but the injuſtice and oppreſſion to which the nonconformiſts had been ſubjected by the church of England. He purſued this artifice ſo far as to give order for a reviſion of the ſuits which had been inſtituted in the eccleſiaſtical courts againſt the diſſenters. But this animoſity was of ſhort duration; they ſoon perceived the king's drift, and all their mutual reſentment ſubſided. Some of the Engliſh biſhops were ſo abject, as to influence their inferior clergy to ſend flattering addreſſes upon the declaration. Crew of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Cheſter, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, and Watſon of St. David's, recommended themſelves by ſuch adulation. Parker of Oxford could prevail upon one miniſter only, to ſubſcribe an addreſs of this nature.

The king having hitherto ſucceeded even beyond his own expectation, reſolved to open a way for the Roman catholics into the church and univerſities of England. He recommended father Francis, a bene-

benedictine monk, to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. They perceived all the dangerous consequences of such an admission. They presented a petition, beseeching the king to revoke his mandate. They sent a deputation to London, with a remonstrance on the same subject. Their petition was disregarded; their deputies were denied a hearing. The vice-chancellor was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical court. He was deprived of his office; yet the university still refused to admit Francis, and the king thought proper to desist from his purpose. His attempt upon Oxford he prosecuted with more perseverance. The place of president in Magdalen-college being vacant, he sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whose character, in other respects, lay under imputation. They petitioned the king that they might be allowed to chuse their own president, according to the statutes of the college; or that his majesty would recommend a person properly qualified for such an important office. As no answer was made to this remonstrance, the fellows of the college elected Dr. Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption. The vice-president and the fellows were cited before the ecclesiastical court, for having disobeyed the king's order. They represented, that they were restrained from chusing Farmer by their statutes, and the nature of the oath they had taken. They proved Farmer in every shape unqualified for such an office. Notwithstanding their defence, the court decreed that the new president should be deprived of his office; and that the vice-president and one of the fellows should be suspended. But the king being informed of what had appeared to the prejudice of Farmer's character, sent another mandate in

A. C. 1687.

Prosecutes Magdalen-college at Oxford.

A.C. 1687. in favour of Parker biſhop of Oxford, who was as profligate as the other. The fellows refuſed to comply with this injunction. The king repaired in perſon to Oxford, and the fellows were brought into his preſence. He reproached them with their inſolence and diſobedience, in the moſt imperious terms; and commanded them to chuſe the biſhop of Oxford their preſident, without further delay. They preſented a petition which he would not receive; and Parker was ſtill rejected. He afterwards eſtabliſhed an inferior commiſſion to viſit Magdalen-college. The chiefs of this delegation, were Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, and one of the judges. They endeavoured to intimidate the fellows into compliance by menaces: but, finding them reſolute, they propoſed an expedient for ſaving the king's honour by means of a declaration, which the members of the college were willing to ſubſcribe. The king was not ſatisfied with this medium. He inſiſted upon their owning their contempt of his order, and promiſing they would comport themſelves with more reſpect for the future. He demanded that they ſhould acknowledge the juſtice and legality of the eccleſiaſtical court, implore his forgiveneſs upon their knees, and ſubmit to the biſhop of Oxford as their preſident. Thoſe conditions being rejected by all the fellows, except Charnock, and one other; the recuſants were, by the ſentence of the commiſſioners, expelled from the college, and deprived of their fellowſhips. This judgment was affirmed by the eccleſiaſtical court, which moreover decreed, that the preſident and the fellows ſhould be declared incapable of holding eccleſiaſtical benefices. Notwithſtanding this ſentence, the preſident refuſed to quit his houſe, until he was forcibly expelled. Then the college was filled with catholics, and Charnock appointed vice-preſident.

This

This flagrant invaſion of the laws and religion of the kingdom proved one of the moſt unpopular acts of the king's whole reign: but, indeed, by this time he had made conſiderable progreſs towards abſolute dominion, and had ſome reaſon to think the nation in general acquieſced in its ſlavery; for he was flattered even in his higheſt pretenſions by the clergy, the laity, and all ſorts of communities; among theſe the ſociety of the Temple diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a fulſome addreſs, in which they declared, that the prerogative being the gift of God, no earthly power could diminiſh it; and that it neceſſarily remained entire and inſeparably attached to his royal perſon. Yet the tory parliament, ſubmiſſive as they were in the beginning, and attached to the king by the ties of affection, could never be brought to a compliance with his ultimate deſigns upon the religion and conſtitution of their country. He had diſpoſed of all the great employments to perſons of his own communion. The juſtices of the peace were either catholics, or proteſtants devoted to his will; and they employed all their influence in eſtabliſhing the king's diſpenſing power. James intended to call a new parliament, and began to take meaſures for the election of ſuch members as would pay an implicit obedience to his commands. He cloſeted individuals, and endeavoured to convince them of the neceſſity for aboliſhing penal laws. He employed arguments, threats, and promiſes alternately. The ſame methods were practiſed by his miniſters, deputy-lieutenants, judges, and juſtices, in different parts of the kingdom. Writs of Quo Warranto wero iſſued againſt ſome refractory corporations, which were obliged to ſubmit to his commands; and he himſelf made a progreſs through ſeveral counties, in order to intimidate and cajole the people. But all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful: he met with nothing but

A. C. 1687.

Endeavours to influence the election of members for a new parliament.

A. C. 1687. but coldneſs, reluctance, and diſaffection; ſo that he would not hazard the meeting of a new parliament.

The pope's nuncio makes his public entry into Windſor.

The pope had, in the preceding year, conferred the dignity of nuncio upon Ferdinand Dada, who had reſided privately in England, and attended the king's perſon ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne. Now James reſolved to pull off the maſque, and produce him in public to his people; though, by the laws of England, no perſon could aſſume the character of pope's nuncio, without incurring the penalty of high treaſon. On the third day of July, this prieſt made his public entry into Windſor, in his pontificals, preceded by the croſs, and attended by a great number of monks, in the habits of their reſpective orders. The duke of Somerſet being lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, refuſed to conduct the nuncio to an audience, alledging that he could not obey the king's order without tranſgreſſing the law. The duke of Grafton was not ſo ſcrupulous; and Somerſet loſt his office, together with a regiment of dragoons, which he had for ſome time commanded. All theſe unpopular meaſures of the king are ſaid to have been ſuggeſted by the queen, and father Edward Peters his confeſſor, a ſhallow bigot, who was publicly admitted as a member to the council-board, contrary to the advice of all the leading men among the catholics *

Burnet. Wellwood. Rapin.

A. C. 1688. James ſounds the prince of Orange with reſpect to the repeal of penal laws.

James knowing how popular the prince of Orange was among the diſſenters in England; and that the nation in general revered the princeſs as preſumptive heir of the crown, reſolved to procure, if poſſible, his concurrence in repealing the penal laws, believing this would diſpoſe the parliament

* In the courſe of this year, the duke of Buckingham, deſerted by his friends, and deſpiſed by all the world, died in great want and obſcurity.

to

to a compliance with his will, in confirming the declaration. In order to ſound the prince, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the penſionary, to aſſure this counſellor, in a letter, that the intereſt of England, as well as of the prince, required the abolition of the teſt and penal laws. As Fagel made no reply to this addreſs, Stuart renewed the attack in a ſecond and third letter; till at length, tired by the penſionary's ſilence, he gave him to underſtand, that the king had employed him to write, and deſired to know the ſentiments of the prince on this ſubject. Then Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an anſwer, which was publiſhed. He ſaid the prince and princeſs would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conſcience; and ardently wiſhed that the proteſtant diſſenters were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion: but they would never conſent to the abolition of the teſt and penal laws, which were enacted to exclude the catholics from parliament, and public employments, that they might never be in a condition to overturn the proteſtant religion. A. C. 1687.

Their opinion was ſupported by very clear and convincing reaſons, which, while they irritated the king againſt his ſon-in-law, ſerved to confirm great part of the nation in the reſolution which they had lately taken to oppoſe the arbitrary deſigns of the miniſtry. They began to perceive that the kingdom would infallibly be reduced to ſlavery, and the proteſtant religion extinguiſhed, unleſs they ſhould engage in ſome ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for their own preſervation. They turned their eyes upon the prince of Orange; and ſome were inclined to wait patiently, until the princeſs ſhould ſucceed to the throne by the courſe of nature: but they baniſhed thoſe forbearing maxims, when a pro-

A. C. 1688. proclamation was publiſhed, declaring the queen's pregnancy, and ordaining a day of thankſgiving for the occaſion. Theſe tidings filled the catholics with exceſſive joy, and the reſt of the nation with the moſt diſmal preſages. The jeſuits were bold enough to propheſy that the queen would bring forth a ſon. They pretended her conception was the miraculous effect of vows made by her and her mother to the bleſſed Virgin, and our lady of Loretto. Addreſſes of congratulation were immediately wafted to the king from all corners of the iſland, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public bleſſing. But theſe addreſſes were procured by the emiſſaries of the miniſtry. All the proteſtants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit. She had been for ſome years in an ill ſtate of health; and this circumſtance, conſidered through the medium of paſſion, ſuggeſted the belief of an impoſture. Before James aſcended the throne, this lady had been pregnant, and at that time her enemies circulated a report of the ſame nature; but, as the infant proved a female, they took no ſtep to confirm or extend the ſuſpicion.

The queen's pregnancy.

The king's diſguſt to the Dutch.

The king was ſo elevated with this proſpect of male-iſſue, that he ſeemed to ſet the prince of Orange at defiance. He diſclaimed the correſpondence between Stuart and Fagel: he countenanced the Algerines, who were at war with the Dutch: he recalled the ſix Britiſh regiments that were in the ſervice of the States-general: he augmented his navy, and ſeemed to wait for nothing but a pretence to declare war againſt Holland. The States, in anſwer to his demand, repreſented, that, by treaties, they were not obliged to part with the regiments, except

except when he ſhould be at war with ſome foreign power, or in caſe of an actual rebellion in his dominions. He renewed his demand; they pleaded the letter of the treaty; at length he publiſhed a proclamation, recalling all his ſubjects that were in the ſervice of the States-general. The prince of Orange offered paſſports to ſuch Engliſh or Scottiſh officers as deſired to quit the ſervice; and, by this expedient, purged the troops of thoſe individuals in whoſe attachment and fidelity he could not confide. A.C. 1688.

James, in order to demonſtrate the conſtancy of his councils, and his contempt for the malcontents of the kingdom, publiſhed another declaration, granting liberty of conſcience, and aboliſhing the penal laws. At the ſame time the biſhops were enjoined, by an order of council, to cauſe this declaration to be read in all the churches of their different dioceſes. This ſcheme was calculated to mortify the church of England, againſt which he was remarkably irritated, and to enſnare the biſhops into the guilt of diſobedience, unleſs they would become the inſtruments of his deſigns againſt the proteſtant religion. Loyd biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Briſtol, being then in London, no ſooner received theſe orders, then they haſtened to Lambeth, to conſult with Sancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury. There they deliberated upon the ſubject; and agreed in opinion, that they could not obey the king's command, without betraying their conſciences, and their duty to God and their country. They therefore drew up and ſigned a petition to the king, repreſenting their unwillingneſs to be concerned in publiſhing the declaration. They proteſted their reluctance did not proceed from any ſpirit of oppoſition

Seven biſhops preſent a petition to the king.

A. C. 1688. fition to his majeſty's will; nor to a defect of tenderneſs for the nonconformiſts; but ſolely from the nature of the declaration itſelf, founded on a diſpenſing power, which the parliament, on ſeveral occaſions, had declared illegal. They ſaid they could not be concerned in publiſhing it, with any regard to prudence, honour, and conſcience; and therefore they earneſtly and reſpectfully beſought his majeſty to excuſe them from obeying the order of council. On the eighteenth day of May, they went in a body to the palace, without having communicated their deſign to any perſon whatever, and preſented this petition to the king, who received and read it with marks of ſurpriſe and diſpleaſure. He ſaid he did not look for ſuch an addreſs from the Engliſh church, particularly from ſome among them; that they ſhould hear from him, ſhould he change his opinion; if not, he expected they would obey his order. They anſwered, that they were reſigned to the will of heaven; and retired.

He reſolved to proſecute thoſe prelates in the moſt rigorous manner. The king's meaſures were now become ſo odious to the people, that although the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, who were members of the eccleſiaſtical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their dioceſes, the audience would not ſtay to hear them; and one miniſter told his congregation, that though he had poſitive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it; a hint in conſequence of which they evacuated the church, and then he recited it in private. The petitioning biſhops being brought before the council, were aſked if they owned the petition; and the archbiſhop acknowledged it was written by his own hand. Then the chancellor demanded if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's-bench, and anſwer the charge that

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should be brought against them, of endeavouring A. C. 1688.
to diminish the king's authority, and interrupt the peace of the nation. They refused to appear in that court, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were obliged to maintain, as well as the interest of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppose all innovation in church and state. The chancellor threatened to commit them to the Tower, unless they would immediately retract their assertions and withdraw the petition. They said they were ready to go wheresoever the king should please to send them: they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they were not afraid of man; and, as they had done nothing contrary to law, no menaces could shake their resolution. An order was immediately expedited for their commitment; and the attorney-general was commanded to prosecute them for having written and published a seditious libel against his majesty's government. The king resolved they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion. The people were no sooner informed of their destination, than they ran to the side of the river, which was lined with an incredible multitude. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees, and great numbers ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and exhorting them to suffer nobly for their religion. The deportment of the bishops was modest, humble, and resigned. They conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. A vast crowd was assembled at the Tower, where they were received in the same manner. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded, affected by the spectacle, kneeled before them, imploring their benediction and

They are committed to the Tower.

A. C. 1688. forgiveneſs. The prelates went immediately to the Tower-chapel, to thank heaven for thoſe afflictions, which, for the ſake of religion, they were thought worthy to endure.

Birth of the prince of Wales. On the tenth day of June, the queen was ſuddenly ſeized with labour-pains, and delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James, and declared prince of Wales. All the catholics and friends of James were tranſported with the moſt extravagant joy at the birth of this child; while great part of the nation conſoled themſelves with the notion that it was altogether ſuppoſititious. They carefully collected a variety of circumſtances, upon which this conjecture was founded; and, though they were inconſiſtent, contradictory, and inconcluſive, the inference was ſo agreeable to the views and paſſions of the people, that it made an impreſſion which, in all probability, will never be totally effaced *. Certain it is, the pride and haughty diſpoſition of James and his queen, hindered them from taking ſuch precautions as would have prevented, or effectually diſproved this calumny. Great rejoicings were made through the whole kingdom, and another ſet of addreſſes preſented, ſome of them replete with the moſt extravagant adulation.

The biſhops tried and acquitted. Mean while the ſeven biſhops were admitted to bail, and the twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial. They were attended to Weſtmin-

* Doctor Burnet, who ſeems to have been at uncommon pains to eſtabliſh this belief, and to have conſulted all the whig nurſes in England upon the ſubject, firſt pretends to demonſtrate that the queen was not with child; ſecondly, that ſhe was with child, but miſcarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's aparment in a warming-pan; fourthly, that there was no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died that ſame day; ſixthly, that the ſuppoſititious child had not the fits; ſeventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond: therefore the chevalier De St. George muſt be the fruit of four different impoſtures.

ſter-

fter-hall by nine and twenty peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immenſe croud of people. This cauſe was looked upon as a criſis that would produce either national ſlavery or freedom; and therefore it was heard with the moſt eager attention. The diſpute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both ſides. Halloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themſelves in favour of the biſhops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they paſſed the whole night; but next morning they returned to the court, and pronounced the biſhops "not guilty." Weſtminſter-hall inſtantly rung with loud acclamations, which were communicated through the whole extent of Weſtminſter and London. They even reached the camp at Hounſlow, while the king was at dinner in lord Feverſham's tent. This nobleman went out to learn the noiſe of thoſe ſhouts; and, when he returned, he told the king it was nothing but the joy expreſſed by the ſoldiers at the acquittal of the biſhops. "Call you that nothing! (ſaid the king) "but ſo much the worſe for them." He forthwith returned to Whitehall, and publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding the populace to aſſemble in the ſtreets: but, notwithſtanding this prohibition, the whole city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. The ſame rejoicings were made in all the principal towns of England, to the unſpeakable mortification of James, who threatened to deliver up the biſhops to the eccleſiaſtical court; and, as a mark of his indignation, deprived Halloway and Powel of their offices. A. C. 1688.

This unhappy prince, perceiving the diſpoſition of his people was very unfavourable to his deſigns, determined to force them into a compliance with his will, provided he could depend upon the attachment of the army. He thought if one regiment The army and navy averſe to the king's meaſures.

A. C. 1688. would promiſe implicit obedience, their example would be followed by the reſt of the forces. In this hope, he ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his preſence; and the major, by his command, deſired all thoſe that would not contribute to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws, to lay down their muſquets. He was equally ſurpriſed and chagrined to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a very few ſoldiers, who were Roman catholics. After ſome pauſe, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them, that for the future he would not do them the honour to aſk their advice. His next ſcheme was to diſmiſs the greater part of the proteſtant officers and ſoldiers, and fill their places with catholics. He began by new-modelling the regiment commanded by his own natural ſon the duke of Berwick. Five Iriſh ſoldiers were enliſted in every company. The national prejudice againſt the natives of that kingdom had been very keen ſince the maſſacre of the proteſtants; and now it was inflamed by the fears of popery, aggravated in ballads and pamphlets, which had a wonderful effect upon the common people. Beaumont the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and ſeveral captains, refuſed to admit Iriſh recruits. They were immediately tried for mutiny by a council of war, and diſmiſſed from the ſervice. The navy was not more complying than the army. Admiral Strickland having ordered maſs to be celebrated on board of his ſhip, ſuch a tumult enſued among the ſailors, that he could hardly hinder them from throwing the prieſts into the ſea.

The king's obſtinacy and perſeverance ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the people's oppoſition. His queen and his prieſts continually ſtimulated him with intreaties and exhortations to proceed in the

the execution of his project; and he was encouraged by the servile submissions of some protestant divines. The bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Chester, still approved of all his measures. The clergy of Cheshire presented an abject address, condemning the conduct of the seven prelates who had scrupled to publish the declaration. The bishop of Durham suspended thirty ministers of his diocese who refused to read it; and the inhabitants of Carlisle declared they would concur with his majesty in repealing the test and penal laws. James, far from altering his conduct, issued orders for prosecuting all those clergymen who had forbore to read his declaration. He sent a mandate to his new fellows of Magdalen-college at Oxford, to elect for their president one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whom he likewise nominated to the see of Oxford, in the room of Parker, lately deceased. Sprat bishop of Rochester, and member of the ecclesiastical court, seeing the king proceeding with such a career in the road to ruin, resolved to consult his own safety in time, and withdrew himself from the commission, on pretence that his conscience would not permit him to prosecute those who had refused to read the declaration. A. C. 1688. Servile adulation of clergymen.

Every individual, whether whig or tory, who knew the value of liberty, and was attached to the established religion, now plainly saw, that without an immediate and vigorous opposition to the measures of the king, the nation would be reduced to the most abject state of spiritual and temporal subjection. The principal persons of both parties began to reflect with remorse upon the mutual animosity which had weakened the common interest: they perceived the necessity of having recourse to foreign aid: and they looked upon the prince of Orange as their natural ally and protector. As a Views of the prince of Orange.

A. C. 1688. previous ſtep towards an application to this auxiliary, they ſaw it would be neceſſary to compromiſe all their domeſtic diſputes. Some moderate men of each faction exerted their endeavours for this purpoſe. Their efforts were crowned with ſucceſs. The whigs and tories, united by the common ties of religion and liberty, agreed in private to lay aſide all contention, and join heartily in oppoſing the arbitrary deſigns of their miſguided ſovereign. The prince of Orange was no ſtranger to the murmurs of the Engliſh. He had ſent over Dykvelt as an envoy, on pretence of remonſtrating to James on his conduct. But he had given him ſecret inſtructions to treat with the chiefs of the malcontents. This agent executed his commiſſion with equal ſecrecy and ſucceſs. He aſſured the church-party of the prince's particular favour and regard. He exhorted the diſſenters to beware of the king's careſſes, which could not poſſibly be ſincere; and hope for a toleration from a proteſtant parliament. They were ſatisfied by the ſolidity of his arguments, and profeſſed the moſt perfect attachment to the ſtadtholder, in whom all their hopes were centered. The proteſtant princes of the empire had formed a ſeparate league at Magdeburg, for the defence of their religion; and ſome towns in Holland, which had been influenced by French councils, being alarmed and incenſed at the perſecution of the huguenots in France, dropped all their connections with the court of Lewis, and repoſed an intire confidence in the ſtadtholder. By this acceſſion of influence, he was enabled to form a league at Augſburg, in which all the princes of the empire united againſt the ambitious deſigns of the French monarch. Spain, Holland, and Savoy, acceded to this alliance.

While

A. C. 1688.

His correspondence with the malcontents in England.

While James sat upon the English throne, the prince saw no prospect of engaging this kingdom in the general association. The succession of the princess was defeated by the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he would not slight an invitation that so agreeably flattered his interest and ambition. Admiral Herbert, who was very popular among the seamen, resigned his commission in disgust, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of a general disaffection in the navy. This assurance was confirmed by Admiral Russel, who, passing and repassing frequently between England and Holland, served as a canal of communication between the prince and the English protestants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernoon, went over to the Hague, under the pretext of going to Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the stadtholder. Lord Dunblaine, son to the earl of Danby, made several voyages to Holland, in a frigate of his own, and conveyed not only assurances from a great number of noblemen and persons of distinction, but likewise considerable sums of money to the prince of Orange. Zuylestein, whom the prince had sent over to England with compliments of congratulation on the birth of the prince of Wales, carried back a formal invitation from the English nobility. The bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Dorset, Devonshire, Nottingham, and Danby, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland; many gentlemen of interest, and a great number of substantial citizens, joined in the application to the prince, intreating him to assist them in the recovery of their liberties, and promising to support his endeavours with their lives and fortunes. The earl of Shrewsbury, a very popular nobleman, who had renounced the Romish

A.C 1688. religion in which he was educated, and resigned his regiment, mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, which he offered, together with his own personal service, to the prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, though overwhelmed with age and infirmities, visited the prince on the same errand. Lord Mordaunt resided at the Hague, and promoted the enterprise with all his power. Even Sunderland, the favourite minister of James, is said to have corresponded with the prince, and betrayed his infatuated master.

Preparations for his expedition.

So many concurring motives could not fail to influence the conduct of the prince, who undertook the expedition, and began to make preparations for it with equal prudence and dispatch. The competition between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, for the archbishopric of Cologne, furnished the States-general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The prince managed his intrigues in such a manner, that three of four members devoted to his interest, were intrusted with the direction of the affairs then in agitation. Orders were given to prepare a formidable fleet, and augment the army, as a war with France seemed inevitable. The prince had an interview at Minden in Westphalia with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of such consequence to the general interest of religion and liberty; and they engaged to defend Holland from the attacks of France, during the prince's expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, with as many vessels as would serve for the transportation of twelve thousand land-forces. These were freighted on different pre-

tences

tences by the merchants of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and other maritime places: they were diſtributed among different ports, where the troops were ordered to embark, and the rendezvous were fixed in the road of Gorée, where the navy waited for their junction. The prince's correſpondents in England agreed to diſperſe themſelves into different parts of the country, on the firſt news of his landing, in order to excite inſurrections againſt the government, and raiſe troops for his ſervice; and he never doubted of being immmediately joined by ſuch a number, as would enable him to make head againſt the king's army. A. C. 1688.

Notwithſtanding all his ſecrecy and diſcretion, the French and Engliſh miniſters at the Hague took the alarm at thoſe preparations, and communicated their ſuſpicions to James, who thought they had refined too much in their conjectures. He perſuaded himſelf that the intelligence his envoy pretended to have received, was no other than a rumour ſpread by his enemies, to divert him from the proſecution of his deſigns. Nevertheleſs, he thought proper to flatter his people with the promiſe of a new parliament, and gave orders to the chancellor to iſſue writs for elections, on the fifth day of September: but, as theſe writs were not expedited, in all probability he had no other deſign but that of amuſing his ſubjects. At this period, Bonrepos arrived as ambaſſador from France, with offers from Lewis, to aſſiſt the king with a fleet and army of thirty thouſand men againſt all invaders: but this was declined by the advice of Sunderland. He repreſented to James, that by introducing French forces into the kingdom, on the eve of a new parliament, he would entirely loſe the hearts of all his ſubjects; and run the riſk of ſeeing his kingdom conquered by his auxiliaries. It was ſuppoſed, James is alarmed. He rejects the proffered aſſiſtance of the French king.

A. C. 1688. poſed, however, that by means of this miniſter, a new alliance was concluded between the kings of France and England. Mean while, James ordered his ambaſſador in Holland to preſent a memorial to the States, deſiring to know the deſtination of their extraordinary armament. He received an anſwer, importing, that they only imitated the example of the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and aſſembled a numerous army, without explaining his intentions; and they, in their turn, deſired to know the nature of the alliance which he had concluded with the French monarch. This anſwer in ſome meaſure awaked the ſuſpicion of James, who ordered the towns of Portſmouth and Hull, the two keys of England, to be put in a poſture of defence, and beſtowed the governments of thoſe places upon two Roman catholics: but he took no further precautions againſt the impending danger, and could not believe the prince of Orange would hazard a deſcent.

The court of France, at the requeſt of Skelton the Engliſh miniſter, who acted on this occaſion without orders, ſent directions to the count D'Avaux, their envoy at the Hague, to declare, in a memorial to the ſtates, that the intimate friendſhip and alliance ſubſiſting between the kings of France and England would oblige his maſter, not only to aſſiſt the Engliſh monarch, ſhould he be attacked, but alſo to look upon the firſt act of hoſtility againſt England, as a manifeſt violation of the peace, and a formal deſign to break with France. The States returned an ambiguous anſwer, and demanded of the Engliſh ambaſſador an explanation of the laſt alliance between France and England. They made the ſame demand of the Engliſh miniſtry, by the mouth of Van Citters their envoy

envoy at London. James, with the concurrence of his council, disowned the memorial of D'Avaux; and Skelton being immediately recalled from France, was committed to the Tower for his presumption. Sunderland still argued, that the belief of such a connection with Lewis would ruin the king in the opinion of his subjects. This advice some writers impute to treachery. On the twenty-first day of September, the king issued a proclamation, declaring his design was to procure an entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects; to maintain the English church, by confirming the acts of uniformity, without any other alteration than that of repealing the penal laws enacted against those who were not promoted to ecclesiastical benefices. He likewise expressed his readiness to consent to a law that should exclude Roman catholics from seats in the house of commons. This proclamation, which was not only ambiguous, but also self-contradictory, made no favourable impression upon the people, who expected redress of their grievances from the prince of Orange alone. The king of France had by this time sent a numerous army into the empire, under the command of the dauphin; and Philipsburg was invested. Barillon, the French envoy at London, advised the king of England to desire his master to abandon the siege, and send his forces to the frontiers of Holland; a motion that in all likelihood would prevent the expedition against England; but this advice was not taken. Sunderland still objected the jealousy of the subjects, as the friends of the prince of Orange had circulated a report, that the Dutch armament was destined to prevent the French from landing in England. A. C. 1688.

James being now convinced of the prince's design, ordered the navy to be manned and prepared for

A. C. 1688. for ſea; ſet on foot new levies, and ſent for ſome regiments from Ireland; appointed the earl of Feverſham general of his land-forces, and conferred the command of the navy upon the earl of Dartmouth. He directed the marquis of Albeville his miniſter at the Hague, to aſſure the States, that there was no private treaty ſubſiſting between him and the French monarch; and to declare his readineſs to concur with them in taking meaſures for maintaining the peace of Nimeguen. They paid no regard to this memorial. On the contrary, the penſionary frankly owned to the marquis, that the prince of Orange, in conſequence of an invitation from the Engliſh nobility, was reſolved o aſſiſt them in re-eſtabliſhing the ancient conſtitution, which the king had entirely altered ſince his acceſſion. When the miniſter communicated this information to the king, adding, that the Hague was filled with Engliſh ſubjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition, he and his whole council were overwhelmed with conſternation: they no longer doubted that the invader would be ſupported by the majority of the kingdom; and being incapable of diſtinguiſhing between their friends and enemies, they knew not whom to truſt. In this emergency, James aſſembled the biſhops of Winchester, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Peterborough, Ely, Bath and Wells, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance. They obtained leave to go and conſult with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was indiſpoſed; and promiſed to deliver their ſentiments in writing. Mean while the king publiſhed a proclamation, informing the ſubjects of a purpoſed invaſion; exhorting them to lay aſide their animoſities, and join with him againſt the common enemy, whoſe intention was to enſlave them; aſſuring them he would venture his life once more in their de-

He ſolicits the advice of the biſhops.

defence; and giving them to underſtand, that he could not conveniently aſſemble the new parliament, until this ſtorm ſhould be overblown. In order to conciliate the affection of his people, he ordered the biſhop of London to be re-eſtabliſhed in his epiſcopal functions: he appointed a new mayor for the city of London, becauſe Eyles the anabaptiſt was not agreeable to the citizens who were members of the Engliſh church. He aſſured the magiſtrates that he would reſtore their ancient charter; and he publiſhed a general amneſty, with ſome exceptions. A. C. 1688.

He takes ſome ſteps for the ſatisfaction of the people.

On the third day of October, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, accompanied by eight prelates whom James had conſulted, was admitted to an audience at Whitehall, and preſented the king with the reſult of their deliberation, in ten articles of advice. They counſelled his majeſty to put the government of the different counties into the hands of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land: To aboliſh the eccleſiaſtical court: To recal all the diſpenſations, by virtue of which diſqualified perſons had been admitted into civil and eccleſiaſtical employments: To revoke all the licences by which catholics were permitted to open public ſchools: To deſiſt from all pretenſion to a diſpenſing power, or refer it entirely to the deciſion of parliament: To forbid the four apoſtolic vicars to continue invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which belonged to the biſhops of the Engliſh church: To fill up the vacant biſhoprics and benefices with men of learning and piety: To reſtore the charters which had been taken from corporations: To aſſemble a free parliament; and allow the biſhops to offer ſuch reaſons as might induce him to be reconciled to the Engliſh church, in which he had been born and educated. Though theſe

A.C. 1688. theſe advices muſt have been very unpalatable to the king, as containing ſevere reproaches upon his paſt government, he affected to take them in good part, and even complied with them in ſeveral articles. He ſuppreſſed the eccleſiaſtical court: reſtored the old charter to the city of London. The lieutenants of the counties were enjoined to correct all abuſes which had injured the corporations. The biſhop of Wincheſter, as viſitor of Magdalen-college at Oxford, was authorized to re-eſtabliſh it in poſſeſſion of all its rights and privileges. All corporations were reſtored to the enjoyment of their antient immunities. Several governors were changed: catholic juſtices and magiſtrates were deprived of their offices, which the king now beſtowed upon proteſtants; ſo that in a few days the great work, in which the king had laboured ſo aſſiduouſly, was entirely undone. Theſe haſty ſteps towards a reformation, though ſuppoſed to be the effect of fear, began to make ſome impreſſion upon the minds of the people, when he received intelligence that the Dutch fleet was diſperſed and diſabled by a tempeſt. He forthwith recalled the biſhop of Wincheſter from Oxford, after that prelate had ſummoned the fellows of Magdalen-college; and ſeemed inclined to retract all the ſteps he had taken for the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects: yet, hearing the news he had received was falſe, he commanded the biſhop to proceed, and the fellows of the college were re-eſtabliſhed; but, by his conduct in this affair, he brought his ſincerity into queſtion.

Proves the birth of his ſon.

As he dreaded the violence of the populace, he ordered all the Romiſh chapels in London and Weſtminſter to be ſhut up; and the prieſts of that communion, foreſeeing the approaching ſtorm, began to diſappear. A body of troops from Ireland landed at Cheſter, and three thouſand men from

Scotland arrived at Carliſle. Orders were iſſued to raiſe ten new regiments, and arm the militia; and a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding the ſubjects to remove their cattle to the diſtance of twenty miles from the place where the deſcent ſhould be made. A writing being publiſhed in Holland, inſinuating that the birth of the prince of Wales was an impoſture, the king aſſembled a council extraordinary, to which he invited the queen dowager, with all the lords ſpiritual and temporal then in London, the lord mayor and aldermen, and the judges. He told them his enemies had pretended to doubt the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he had taken this opportunity to examine the affair in their preſence, that he might clear himſelf from all ſuſpicion of having practiſed ſuch a vile impoſture. Forty witneſſes were produced; and, as far as the nature of the caſe would permit, aſcertained the queen's delivery, to the ſatisfaction of every unprejudiced hearer: but great part of the nation were incapable of conviction; and this proof ſerved only to rivit their ſuſpicion, or confirm their notions of the impoſture. The depoſitions were recorded in chancery, printed, publiſhed, and diſperſed through the kingdom. Many people concluded that there muſt have been ſomething very weak and defective in a cauſe that required ſuch extraordinary ſupport, not conſidering that their own prejudices had obliged the king to have recourſe to ſuch an extraordinary inveſtigation. In October the earl of Sunderland was diſmiſſed from his two employments of ſecretary of ſtate and preſident of the council. He was diſagreeable to the king's catholic counſellors; and ſuſpected, nay even openly accuſed, of correſponding with the enemy: in the ſequel he publiſhed an apology for his conduct. A.C. 1688.

During

A.C. 1688. Manifeſto published by the prince of Orange.

During theſe tranſactions, the prince of Orange was employed in drawing up a manifeſto, explaining the motives by which he was actuated, and the purport of his expedition. He enumerated the grievances of the Engliſh nation: recapitulated the fruitleſs attempts which had been made for procuring redreſs in the uſual way of petition and remonſtrance: mentioned the circumſtance of the ſuppoſed impoſture in the birth of the prince of Wales: profeſſed his own regard and that of the princeſs for the Engliſh nation, to the relief of which he had been invited by a great number of lords ſpiritual and temporal, gentlemen, and other perſons of all conditions. He avowed his intention of viſiting England with a body of forces ſufficient to ſecure him from the attempts of thoſe who might endeavour to thwart his meaſures. He declared his deſign was to convoke a free parliament, to which he would refer the ſettlement of the nation; and the ſame promiſe he made with reſpect to Scotland and Ireland. This declaration was already printed, in order to be diſtributed among the Engliſh people, when he received information that the king had redreſſed ſome of the grievances of which he complained, and taxed him with a deſign to conquer England. He therefore made an addition to his manifeſto, importing, that the forces he intended to tranſport could not be ſuppoſed ſufficient for the conqueſt of England; nor could the Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen engaged in his undertaking, be ſuppoſed capable of contributing to the ſubjection of their country: that the late redreſs of ſome grievances, though a plain acknowledgment of oppreſſion, was but a temporary expedient to cajole the people, who could have no ſecurity for their rights and privileges, but in the acts of a free parliament, which he promiſed to aſ-

ſemble

ſemble in their behalf. The States-general, at the ſame time, publiſhed the reaſons which had induced them to lend their ſhips and forces to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which the prince had received from the nobility and clergy of England, and the apprehenſion that king James, after he ſhould have made himſelf abſolute in his own kingdom, would join the French monarch in deſtroying the proteſtant religion, and exterminating the people of the United Provinces. A. C. 1688.

The prince of Orange, having taken leave of the States, embarked on the nineteenth day of October with the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, Paulet, Delan, and Dunblaine; admiral Herbert, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Ruſſel, Doctor Burnet, and many other Engliſh ſubjects. He was alſo attended by the count de Schomberg and his ſon, with about three hundred French officers of the reformed religion. His fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of the line, twenty frigates, as many fireſhips, and about four hundred tranſports, on board of which twelve or thirteen thouſand ſoldiers were embarked. Admiral Herbert led the van; the rear was conducted by Evertzen, and the prince commanded in the centre, with a flag diſplaying his own arms, circumſcribed, "The proteſtant religion, and the liber-"ties of England." Underneath, "Je main-"tiendrai," the device that diſtinguiſhed the houſe of Naſſau. The fleet had ſailed but a few leagues when the wind ſuddenly ſhifted to the weſt, and blew a violent ſtorm, which laſted two whole days, and ſcattered the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that a whole week elapſed before they could re-aſſemble at their rendezvous. They had ſuſtained very little damage: the States, however, magnified their loſs in the gazettes, and declared that the prince

The prince ſets ſail, but is obliged to put back by ſtreſs of weather.

A. C. 1688. would be obliged to poſtpone his expedition to the ſpring.

James anſwers the prince's manifeſto.

This artful inſinuation had the deſired effect: James believed their fleet was actually diſabled; and, on that ſuppoſition, recalled ſome of the conceſſions he had made for the ſatisfaction of his people. When he underſtood that the prince, in his manifeſto, declared, he was invited by a great number of lords ſpiritual and temporal, he ſummoned the archbiſhop of Canterbury and three or four other prelates into his preſence, and inſiſted upon their ſigning a declaration to diſprove the prince's aſſertion. They aſſured him of their fidelity in general terms, but deſired to be excuſed from anſwering a writing which did not concern them in particular. The king was incenſed at their refuſal, and diſmiſſed them with marks of the moſt violent indignation. Then he publiſhed an anſwer to the prince's manifeſto, in which he endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct, and blacken the character of the ſtadtholder. At this period two printed letters were diſtributed through England; one addreſſed to the Engliſh army by the prince of Orange, and the other directed by admiral Herbert to the ſailors, by whom he was greatly beloved. Theſe papers contained reaſons and exhortations, diſſuading them from acting as the inſtruments of tyranny againſt the religion and liberties of their country; and they produced a ſurpriſing effect.

The prince lands in England.

The damage ſuſtained by the Dutch fleet, being in a few days repaired, the prince re-embarked on the firſt day of November, and ſteered to the northward, intending to land in the mouth of the Humber; but the eaſterly wind blew ſo ſtrong in the night, that he changed his reſolution, and ſtood to the weſtward. He ſailed down the channel without ſeeing the king's fleet, which lay at the Gunfleet

Gunfleet to the number of ſixty ſhips, commanded by the earl of Dartmouth. The prince now determined to land at Torbay; but in the night of the fourth, the pilot overſhot the Start-point, and the gale was ſo freſh that it was found impracticable to beat up to windward. This accident would have obliged the prince to bear away for Falmouth at the extremity of the iſland, had not the wind unexpectedly ſhifted to the Weſt, and conducted them into Torbay; while at the ſame time it effectually hindered the Engliſh fleet to come down the channel. On the fifth day of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder-plot, the prince diſembarked his troops at the village of Broxholme in Torbay. The baggage and artillery were ſent to Topſham, the ſeaport of Exeter, and next day the prince began his march for that city, where however he remained ten days, without being joined by any perſon of conſideration. The king no ſooner received intelligence of his landing, than he ordered his troops to aſſemble on Saliſbury Plain. In order to vilify the prince's power, he diſtributed liſts of all the regiments that compoſed his little army. Hearing the city of London, with the counties of Kent and York, intended to preſent addreſſes, beſeeching him to effect an accommodation with the prince of Orange, he publicly declared, that he would conſider as enemies all thoſe who ſhould propoſe ſuch an accommodation. At the ſame time he publiſhed a declaration, charging the prince of Orange with a deſign to uſurp the crown of England. Mean time the ſtadtholder paſſed his time very diſagreeably at Exeter: the biſhop had quitted the place at his landing, and repaired to London, where the king created him archbiſhop of York. When doctor Burnet mounted the pulpit at Exeter, on the Sunday after the A. C. 1688.

A. C. 1688. prince's arrival, in order to read the manifeſto, all the canons and great part of the congregation left the church. Very few Engliſhmen offered their ſervices to the ſtadtholder; and he met with very little ſucceſs in raiſing three new regiments of infantry. Though the people were generally well affected to his deſign, the recent remembrance of the cruelties exerciſed upon the partiſans of Monmouth, in that country, deterred them from engaging in any other enterprize againſt the government.

Is joined by many perſons of diſtinction, On the tenth day after the prince's landing, when he began to deliberate about reimbarking, he was joined by ſome perſons of conſequence; among theſe was Edward Seymour, who propoſed an aſſociation for the defence of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, binding the ſubſcribers to ſtand by the prince of Orange, and by one another, until, by means of a free parliament, their religion and privileges ſhould be ſecured in ſuch a manner, as to ſcreen them from any future danger of popery and ſlavery. This aſſociation was ſubſcribed by all preſent; and from this day the prince's affairs aſſumed a more promiſing aſpect. He began his march for Saliſbury, and the number of his followers daily increaſed. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, Mr. Wharton, colonel Godfrey, and Mr. How, joined him with about ſixty horſemen well mounted; theſe were followed by the earl of Abington, captain Clarges, and ſome others. Lord Cornbury, ſon of the earl of Clarendon, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, revolted to the prince with a good part of four regiments. Lord Delamere aſſembled his vaſſals in Cheſhire, and openly declared for the ſtadtholder. Lord Lovelace began his march for Exeter, at the head of fourſcore horſe; but he was encountered by the militia

militia at Cirencester, defeated, and taken prisoner. A. C. 1688.
The two archbishops, five other prelates, the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Anglesey, and Rochester; the lords Newport, Paget, Chandois, and Offulston, meeting in London, drew up and presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to convoke a free parliament, and take measures for satisfying the prince of Orange. James declared, that he passionately desired to assemble a free parliament: and promised, upon his royal word, that it should meet immediately after the prince's departure from the kingdom: but he said, this step could not be taken while the enemy was in the country, and had it in his power to influence the elections.

The king goes to his army at Salisbury.

This unhappy monarch was now involved in a labyrinth of fears and perplexity. The defection of his subjects made a deep impression upon his mind. He had reason to believe the army was infected with the same spirit: and he began to distrust the fidelity of those who necessarily enjoyed a great share of his confidence. Resolving to head his army in person, he recommended the city of London to the care of the lord mayor. He made a speech to his principal officers, in which he solemnly renewed the promise of assembling a free parliament. He told them, if they desired any thing more, he was ready to gratify their wishes: he declared, that if any of them were still dissatisfied with his conduct, and inclined to join the prince of Orange, he would supply them with passports, in order to spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign. He left a council at London, composed of the chancellor Jeffries, the lords Godolphin, Powis, Bellasis, and Preston; and set out for Salisbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth

A. C. 1688. day of November. There he was complimented by the officers, who expreſſed their attachment to him in the warmeſt terms, and their indignation at the deſertion of lord Cornbury. Notwithſtanding their aſſurances, he was expoſed to the moſt uneaſy reflections. He ſaw all his ſchemes blaſted, his people melting from him, his friends falling off, and his family in danger of immediate ruin. His internal diſturbance had ſuch an effect upon his conſtitution, that the blood guſhed from his noſtrils; and next day the ſame ſymptom recurred.

Returns to London.

The officers forgetting their late profeſſions, now deſired the earl of Feverſham to tell the king, that they could not in conſcience ſerve againſt the prince of Orange, who aimed at nothing but the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the people. This was a mortifying declaration to the king, who thus found himſelf deprived in a manner of all reſource. Feverſham adviſed him to ſecure lord Churchill, whoſe fidelity was queſtioned. James had heaped ſuch favours upon this nobleman, whom he had raiſed from obſcurity, enobled, and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, that he could not doubt his attachment. Next day, however, Churchill went over to the prince, accompanied by the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkeley, and ſeveral other officers. He ſent a letter to the king, pleading conſcience for his deſertion; but James imputed it to the fear of his falling fortune operating upon a mind that felt no ties of gratitude. He was now wholly abandoned by his fortitude, and returned to London in a ſtate of dejection, after having publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing a free pardon to all deſerters who in four and twenty hours ſhould return to their duty. This produced no effect; but he had the additional

mortification to see himself forsaken by his son-in-law prince George of Denmark, who left him at Andover. A. C. 1688.

The prince of Orange, who had advanced to Sherburne, receiving advice that the king had returned to London, and his army retired to Reading, marched towards Salisbury, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. In his route to this place, a skirmish happened between two parties of the opposite armies, in which the English gained some advantage. The earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, admitted the Dutch fleet into that harbour. The earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise expelled the duke of Beaufort from Bristol, by the assistance of the inhabitants, who declared for the prince of Orange. The earl of Devonshire having assembled a great number of gentlemen in Derbyshire, openly espoused the same cause. The earl of Danby secured the city and county of York in the same interest. Their example was followed by Nottinghamshire and the town of Berwick. Hull was delivered into the hands of colonel Copley by the garrison, after they had arrested the lord Langdale their catholic governor. The prince received tenders of service from the duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford. The duke of Ormond entered the city of Oxford, and ordered the manifesto to be read in public.

Finally, the king was abandoned by his own daughter Anne princess of Denmark, who escaped privately from Whitehall, and was accompanied by the bishop of London to Nottingham; from whence she repaired to Oxford, where she was joined by her husband. She sent a letter to the queen, containing an apology for her retreat, and the warmest expressions of duty to her father. When James was made acquainted with the flight of his favourite

Is abandoned by his own daughter.

A. C. 1688. rite daughter, he could not help burſting into tears, and exclaimed, in an agony of grief, "God help "me! my own children have forſaken me!" He now tottered on the brink of deſtruction. The queen was overwhelmed with conſternation. Peters his confeſſor had retired to France, in the retinue of the earl of Waldegrave, who ſucceeded Skelton as ambaſſador at Paris; Jeffries was diſmayed; and Barillon, the French envoy, reproached the king with his having rejected the aſſiſtance of Lewis.

He ſends deputies to the prince of Orange.

Finding himſelf in this deſolate condition, he aſſembled the few proteſtant lords ſpiritual and temporal who happened to be at London, and implored their advice. They were unanimouſly of opinion that he ſhould immediately call a free parliament; grant an abſolute pardon to all thoſe who had joined the prince of Orange; ſend deputies to treat with him of an accommodation; and inſtantly deprive all catholics of the employments they poſſeſſed. He forthwith ordered the chancellor to prepare writs for the elections. He publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, That all peers and commons ſhould be at liberty to vote or be elected without diſtinction, whether they had or had not joined the prince of Orange. Hales, a catholic, was diſpoſſeſſed of the lieutenancy of the Tower, and that command conferred on colonel Skelton. The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, were nominated as deputies to treat with the prince of Orange, who furniſhed them with a ſafe conduct; and they ſet out on this embaſſy in the beginning of December. About this time, a paper was circulated through all England, entitled, "The third declaration of the prince "of Orange." He diſowned the paper, though it was publiſhed in his name. The author declared

his highneſs did not intend to moleſt the papiſts, if they would be quiet; but that all of that communion found in arms, or in the exerciſe of public employments, with their abettors, ſhould be treated as enemies and perturbators of the public peace. All magiſtrates and officers, civil as well as military, were required to ſeize, diſarm, and ſecure ſuch diſturbers, on pain of being deemed traitors to the religion, laws, and liberties of their country. This declaration, which was publiſhed by almoſt all the juſtices of the peace in the kingdom, completed the deſpair of the catholics; ſo that they durſt not ſhew their faces in public. The hue and cry was raiſed againſt father Peters; and the earl of Saliſbury was preſented as a popiſh recuſant by the grand jury of Middleſex. A. C. 1688.

The king's deputies had an audience of the prince at Hungerford; and at his deſire delivered their maſter's propoſals in writing. James deſired, that their difference might be left to the deciſion of a free parliament which he had convoked; and that the two armies ſhould remain at an equal diſtance from London. The prince on the other hand propoſed, That all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed and diſpoſſeſſed of the employments they enjoyed: That all proclamations againſt himſelf ſhould be recalled: That the command of the Tower ſhould be put into the hands of the lord mayor: That if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould likewiſe remain in the ſame place, with an equal number of guards: or, That the king and he ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London: That the two armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the city; and, That no new forces ſhould be brought into the kingdom: That Tilbury-fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates: That, Conditions impoſed by the prince.

A. C. 1688. That, until the parliament ſhould meet, part of the revenue ſhould be aſſigned for the maintenance of the prince's army: and, That in order to prevent an invaſion from abroad, the fortreſs of Portſmouth ſhould be committed to the charge of ſome perſon equally agreeable to the king and the prince. When James peruſed thoſe propoſals, he ſaid, they were more moderate than he expected. He aſſembled the noblemen who were in London, to deliberate upon the preſent conjuncture of affairs. Addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, "My lord, (ſaid he,) you are an honeſt man; have "great credit; and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Sir, (replied the earl,) I am a feeble, old man, "very unable to do you any conſiderable ſervice; "but I had a ſon (he added with a ſigh) who, if "now alive, could ſerve your majeſty in a more "effectual manner." He alluded to lord Ruſſel, who had ſuffered death in the laſt reign. James was ſo ſtruck with this reflection, that he could not anſwer one word.

The queen retires to France.

Every thing now tended to an accommodation; and the nobility were ordered to reaſſemble next day, to agree upon meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of the kingdom. But the king altered his reſolution before morning. His private counſellors adviſed him to retire into France, where he would be protected by a powerful and generous monarch, who would enable him to reſume the reins of government upon his own terms. Whereas, by remaining in England, he would be reduced to the ſhadow of royalty, and ſee himſelf compelled to retract all his conceſſions in favour of the catholic religion. They infuſed terrors into the queen, by repreſenting, that the parliament would declare her delivery an impoſture, the prince of Wales illegitimate; and perhaps accuſe her of treaſon for having

having favoured catholics, contrary to the laws of the realm. Thus alarmed, she resolved to retire immediately into France with the prince of Wales; and extorted a positive promise from the king, that he would follow her without delay. On the tenth of December at night, she crossed the river with her infant in an open boat, exposed to the wind and rain; and waited in the fields at Lambeth, until Lazun provided a coach for her accommodation. In this she travelled to Gravesend, where she embarked on board of a small vessel that conveyed her and the prince of Wales in safety to Calais. From thence she hastened to Versailles, where Lewis received her with the most cordial hospitality. A. C. 1688.

The king having sent an order to the earl of Feversham to disband the army, and caused the writs for the election of a new parliament to be burned, disguised himself in plain apparel, and about four o'clock in the morning, embarked in a boat at Whitehall, accompained by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie his valet de chambre. He threw the great-seal into the Thames, that it might not fall into the hands of his enemies, and proceeded towards the mouth of the river, where a ship waited for his reception. He hoped his absence would produce a perplexity in the nation, which might be favourable to his cause: but the prince of Orange foresaw, that nothing would sooner promote the accomplishment of his own design. The king's disappearance was actually productive of consternation and confusion, as all government seemed to be suspended. The lords and bishops who were in London, together with some persons of distinction, held a consultation in Guildhall with the lord mayor and aldermen. They resolved to adhere to the prince of Orange; and sent deputies to him with this resolution, subscribed The king disappears.

A. C. 1688. ed by all the members of that assembly. They appointed lord Lucas lieutenant of the Tower, until the prince's pleasure should be known. The common-council of London sent a deputation to the prince with an address, craving his protection, and intreating him to honour the city with his presence. The populace plundered, burned, and demolished all the Romish chapels. Jeffries the chancellor being detected in the dress of a sailor, was maltreated by the multitude, and conveyed to the Tower, where death soon delivered him from the terrors of exemplary punishment.

A panic in London.

When Feversham disbanded the king's army, some Irish soldiers finding themselves destitute of subsistence, were impelled by hunger to rifle a house in Uxbridge. This incident was swelled up into a report, that an Irish army had landed in England, and was in full march to the capital, burning, plundering, and massacring, without mercy or distinction. The rumour was in the circulation improved into a detail of the most dreadful circumstances. The city of London was alarmed with the account of their having reached Uxbridge. Some endeavoured to save themselves by flight; others ran to arms; all the windows were illuminated, that the enemy might not take advantage of the darkness; universal tumult and trepidation ensued. The panic extended itself to all parts of England with amazing rapidity; and the more remote counties had resolved to put all the Roman catholics to the sword, when they were happily undeceived by learning the true cause of this commotion. The prince of Orange was no sooner informed of the army's being disbanded, than he published a proclamation, requiring the officers to reassemble their men, and wait in quarters for further orders; and another proclamation,

to

to the same purpose, was issued by the noblemen assembled at London. A. C. 1688.

In the mean time, the small vessel in which the king had embarked, was detained at Feversham by the common people, who discovered Sir Edward Hales on board, and mistook the king for his priest or chaplain. In this opinion they arrested, insulted, and robbed their unfortunate sovereign of some valuable jewels, and about five hundred guineas. At length, he was known by a constable, who fell at his feet, begging pardon for the insolence of the people; and they now, with marks of contrition, offered to restore the plunder. He received the jewels, but desired them to keep the money. Then he sent for the earl of Winchelsea, who happened to be in the neighbourhood; and that nobleman persuaded him to return to London. The news of his being discovered in such a manner, had very different effects upon different persons. The nobility and magistrates of the city began to fear they had been too officious; for they perceived the hearts of the people relenting at the distress of their sovereign. Having consulted together, they deputed four of their number to wait upon his majesty, and intreat him to return to Whitehall, where he should be received, with the most dutiful respect. His coaches were immediately dispatched to Feversham. Then they sent an express, to inform the prince of Orange that his majesty was still in the kingdom. The prince had now advanced to Windsor, where he received this intelligence with equal concern and surprize. He forthwith dismissed Zuylestein with a message to the king, desiring he would retire to Rochester, until measures could be taken with regard to his affairs. But before this message could be delivered, the king arrived in London, where he was received

The king returns to Whitehall.

A. C. 1688. ceived amidſt the acclamations of the people, who rejoiced at his return, as if he had come from immediate conqueſt, and triumphed over the enemies of the nation. He took poſſeſſion of Whitehall, and his domeſtics flocked around him; but this gleam of good fortune was of a very ſhort duration.

He retires to Rocheſter by permiſſion of the prince.

He had ſent the earl of Feverſham with a letter to the prince of Orange, inviting him to St. James's with ſuch a number of guards as he ſhould think neceſſary, that they might confer together upon means for appeaſing the troubles of the nation. The prince would not deign to anſwer this letter, but ordered the earl to be diſarmed and arreſted. He ſigned a written order to the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Shrewſbury, and lord Delamere, to go and give the king notice that it would be proper for him to retire to Ham-houſe near Richmond; and that he might retain his own guards for the ſafety of his perſon. Then he ordered his regiment of guards to take poſſeſſion either by fair means or force, of the two palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. The king deſired the count De Solms colonel of the Dutch guards, to leave him for that night under the care of his own people. The count replied, that his orders muſt be immediately obeyed. One of his battalions marched at ten in the night through the Park to Whitehall; and were drawn up in order of battle, oppoſite to the king's guards, with their matches lighted, ready to engage. The captain of the Engliſh guard refuſed to quit his poſt until the king ordered him to march off the parade. Then the Dutch troops took poſſeſſion of the palace, and placed double ſentries on the king's perſon. About midnight the three noblemen deputed by the prince arrived at Whitehall; and inſiſted upon the king's being

being awakened to give them audience. They recited the order in his hearing, and he acquiesced in the prince's command; but expressed a desire of retiring to Rochester rather than to Richmond. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom; and in this hope readily complied with his request. Next day the king set out for that place, accompanied by the earls of Aylesbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton; and attended by a detachment of the Dutch guards. A. C. 1688.

The prince of Orange that same day fixed his residence at St. James's, where he received the compliments of the nobility and the lord mayor of London; and his arrival was celebrated by the populace with public rejoicings. After having reposed himself a few days, he assembled all the nobility, to the number of threescore. He desired they would concert proper measures for convoking a free parliament for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the security of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. Then he left them to their own deliberations. They voted an address of thanks to his highness; and resolved to meet every day in the house of peers, that they might deliberate upon what he had recommended to their attention. The king finding himself stripped of his authority, and reduced from the pinnacle of regal power to the lowest degree of dependence, resolved to withdraw himself out of the reach of a people who had renounced his government, and a rival, from whose ambition he did not think his life altogether secure. On the twenty-third day of December, he privately retired from Rochester, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, and two domestics, to the sea-side, where a vessel was prepared. There embarking he set sail for France, and arrived at the port of Ambleteuse: He withdraws into France.

from

A. C. 1688. from whence he repaired to St. Germain, where he found his conſort and the prince of Wales. He left a paper on his table at Rocheſter, written with his own hand. In this he complained of the diſreſpect with which he had been treated by the prince of Orange, who had rejected his propoſals by the earl of Feverſham; arreſted that nobleman, contrary to the law of nations; ordered his guards to take poſſeſſion of the palace by night; ſent an order to himſelf at midnight, commanding him to quit his own houſe; invaded his dominions, and countenanced a malicious report, on purpoſe to deprive his infant ſon of the ſucceſſion. He ſaid he was born free, and deſired to preſerve his liberty: that he had often expoſed his life for the honour of his country; and hoped to venture it once more to redeem it from ſubjection: that he would not run the riſque of being rendered incapable to ſerve his people, and therefore he had retired from confinement; but he ſhould be always ready to fly to the aſſiſtance of the nation, whenever their eyes ſhould be opened, ſo as to ſee how much they had been abuſed by the pretext of religion and liberty. He hoped God would touch the hearts of his ſubjects, and inſpire them with ſentiments of moderation, that a free parliament might indulge all nonconformiſts with liberty of conſcience, than which nothing would more contribute to the advantage and happineſs of the nation. Thus ended the reign of James II. a prince in whom ſome good qualities were rendered ineffectual by miſtaken notions of the prerogative, exceſſive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible ſeverity of temper. He was brave, ſteady, reſolute, diligent, upright, and ſincere, except when warped by religious conſiderations; yet, even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive,

dictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and though he approved himself an obedient and dutiful subject, he certainly became one of the most intolerable sovereigns that ever reigned over a free people *. A. C. 1688.

As the prince of Orange had been embarrassed by his presence, so now he was overjoyed at his retreat. James probably imagined that upon his retiring from the kingdom, a total cessation of government would ensue, and be attended with such anarchy, as would oblige the subjects, for their own sakes, to recal him to the throne: he deceived himself by this expectation. His departure was no sooner known than the peers, as possessed of hereditary jurisdiction, resolved to act as the guardians of the public. They presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take into his hands the administration of the government, civil and military, the management of the public revenue, and the regulation of the affairs of Ireland, until a convention of the estates should be assembled. In another address, they intreated him to send orders to all the places that were vested with the right of electing members, that they should in ten days chuse representatives to compose a convention, which might act as a parliament in settling the nation. Before the prince would take this step, he was resolved to be authorised by the commons as well as by the peers. He published an order, requiring all those who had served as members of parliament in the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty common-council-men of London, to meet at St. James's, on the twenty-sixth day of December, that he might con- The prince of Orange assumes the reins of government.

* In this reign the settlement of Carolina and Pensylvania was completed. This last colony was peopled with quakers, under the auspices of Penn the proprietor, who was himself one of those sectaries.

A. C. 1688. sult them on the present posture of affairs. They accordingly assembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the house of commons: there, after some debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take upon himself the charge of the administration till the meeting of the convention, which they begged he would convoke for the twenty-second day of January. The prince assured them he would comply with their advice, and concur with them in every measure that should be judged necessary for the good of the kingdom. Being thus invested with the supreme authority, he ordered Barillon the French ambassador to quit the kingdom immediately. Next day he received the communion in the manner practised in the church of England. He published a proclamation, authorising all protestants who had public employments, to continue in the exercise of them till the meeting of the convention: he dismissed all the catholic officers from the army; and at the same time he released the earl of Feversham, at the desire of the queen dowager.

Burnet. Echard. D'Avaux. Rapin.

A. C. 1688. He is invited to take upon him self the administration of affairs in Scotland.

The Scottish bishops had sent an address to the king, declaring their abhorrence of the invasion threatened by the prince of Orange: but his design was extremely agreeable to the generality of people in that kingdom, who professed the presbyterian religion. The retreat of James was no sooner known at Edinburgh, than the chancellor of the kingdom resigned the great seal, and retired from that capital: then the populace assembling, insulted not only the catholics, but likewise the favourers of episcopacy. They demolished chapels and plundered houses; so that the bishops were obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation, while many noblemen

men and others of that country repaired to London, to obſerve the progreſs of the prince, and conform themſelves to the conduct of the Engliſh nation. Thoſe the prince aſſembled at St. James's, to the number of thirty lords and fourſcore gentlemen, whoſe advice he demanded with regard to the affairs of Scotland. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, and having choſen the duke of Hamilton their preſident, deliberated upon the anſwer they ſhould make to the prince of Orange. The earl of Arran propoſed an addreſs to the king, deſiring he would return to Scotland and convoke a parliament: but this propoſal was unanimouſly rejected. They beſought the prince to aſſume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the ſtates of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March; and they received nearly the ſame anſwer which he had made to the Engliſh. A. C. 1689.

The ſettlement of Ireland was a taſk of much greater difficulty. Tyrconnel commanded an army compoſed of papiſts, and it could not be imagined that he would voluntarily ſubmit to the prince's orders: yet as the lords and commons of England had intreated the prince to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, and he had received an addreſs from the proteſtant inhabitants, he could not help taking ſome notice of their intereſt. He wrote a letter to Tyrconnel, requiring him to ſubmit to the regulations that ſhould be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and inforce it in ſuch a manner that the earl would ſubmit; but, far from performing his promiſe, he encouraged him to ſet the prince at defiance. It was at this juncture, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, went, accompanied with eight other prelates, to make a tender of their ſervices to the prince, and ſub- Writes to Tyrconnel in Ireland.

A. C. 1689. ſcribed the aſſociation: at the ſame time he was complimented by ninety preſbyterian miniſters, who went in a body to pay their reſpects, and were civilly received. While the nation was employed in chuſing repreſentatives, William ſent for the princeſs; but ſhe was for ſome time detained by a hard froſt, which had locked up the harbours in Holland.

Meeting of the convention.

The convention meeting on the twenty-ſecond day of January, each houſe choſe a ſpeaker; and then the prince's letter to both was read to this effect: That he had complied with their deſires in re-eſtabliſhing the peace and public ſafety of the kingdom, and now it was their buſineſs to ſecure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He obſerved, that the dangerous ſituation of the proteſtants in Ireland required immediate relief; and that, except a diſunion among themſelves, nothing could be more fatal to foreign connections than a delay in their deliberations; the States-general would have immediate occaſion for the troops they had furniſhed, as well as for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, againſt a powerful enemy with whom they were at war: he perſuaded himſelf, that beſides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to aſſiſt the Dutch as proteſtants and friends, who had expreſſed ſuch ardour for the preſervation of the Engliſh conſtitution. The two houſes immediately preſented an addreſs to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that, under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his adminiſtration; and begged he would continue to manage the affairs of government, until they ſhould have occaſion to preſent another addreſs; and they promiſed to pay the utmoſt deference to all the contents of his letter. They ordained a day of thankſ-

giving for the happy deliverance of the nation; and the biſhops, by command of the upper-houſe, inſerted in the ſervice of the day, a particular prayer for the prince of Orange. The king had written a letter to his privy-counſellors, nearly in the terms of the paper he had left at Rocheſter, and deſiring their advice in the preſent conjuncture. It was printed and publiſhed by his direction; but as he received no anſwer from thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, he ſent a letter to each houſe of the convention; in which he promiſed, on the word of a king, to grant a general indemnity, even to thoſe who had betrayed him, excepting a very few whom he could not with ſafety forgive: but the two houſes refuſed to examine the contents. A. C. 1689.

On the twenty-eighth day of January, Mr. Dolben, in the lower houſe, undertook to prove that the throne was vacated by the king's deſertion. After a debate that laſted ſeveral hours, they voted, by a great majority, that king James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people; and having, by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant: and that experience had ſhewn, a proteſtant kingdom could not ſubſiſt under the government of a popiſh ſovereign. As the elections had run in the old channel, without being expoſed to any undue influence, almoſt all the repreſentatives of the boroughs were preſbyterians, who had now reſumed their former principles of rejecting the right of hereditary ſucceſſion. But in the houſe of peers the intereſt of the tories was conſiderable.

The commons vote that king James had abdicated the throne.

A.C. 1689. They now resumed those maxims of government, which they had deposited when they found themselves threatened with immediate slavery. Both parties had by this time forgot the coalition, and their former animosity revived.

Disputes in the upper house.

The lords, without acquiescing in the vote of the commons, began to consider in what manner the government should be settled, supposing the throne was actually vacant. The earls of Rochester and Nottingham, leaders of the tory party, proposed that the line of succession should be preserved, and a regent appointed during the king's life, as if James was actually in a state of lunacy. They produced a recent instance of this expedient in Portugal, where, after the deposition of Alphonso VI. his brother Don Pedro had been appointed regent of the kingdom. The marquis of Hallifax speaker of the house, and the earl of Danby, who headed the opposite party, expatiated upon the difficulties, the confusion, and civil disorders, that would probably attend a regency, opposed by that very prince in whose name it must operate. The tories urged, that the election of one king would form a precedent which would produce successive contests for the throne; so that the peace of the nation would be continually interrupted, and the monarchy degenerate into a turbulent republic: besides, it would be exposed to incessant danger, from the pretensions of him who would claim the crown by the right of succession; whereas should this be preserved intire, the administration would one day fall into the hands of the true heir; and then all disputes and disorders would naturally cease. The whigs insisted upon the original contract, by which the people were intitled to take arms against oppression, and expel a tyrant from the throne. They explained the absurdity

abſurdity of reſiſting or puniſhing the partiſans of a man, whom they acknowledged to be their lawful ſovereign, in caſe he ſhould attempt to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and grant commiſſions to his adherents. They enumerated other inconveniences that would ariſe from a regency. They obſerved, that unleſs they elected a new ſovereign, they muſt acknowledge the ſucceſſion of a child of a doubtful birth, who would be educated in principles deſtructive of the religion and liberty of the kingdom, and perpetuate thoſe maxims in his family and deſcendants. A. C. 1689.

After a long debate, a new ſovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. Of all the prelates, the biſhops of London and Briſtol only eſpouſed this ſide of the queſtion. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was a timorous man, abſented himſelf from the houſe, that he might not be obliged to give his opinion on the ſubject. Next day the lords debated the queſtion, Whether there was actually an original contract between the king and people? And it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeven voices. Then they diſputed upon the grammatical ſignification of the word "Abdicated," and agreed that "Deſerted" ſhould be uſed in its place. The next word they examined was the term "Vacant;" and this queſtion was propoſed, "Whether, ſuppoſing king James had violated the "original contract between him and his people, "and abandoned the government, the throne "was thereby become vacant?" The tories maintained, that by the laws of England, the king could never die: of conſequence the throne could not be vacant; and it paſſed in the negative by a majority of eleven: forty peers, however, entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. Some of the

They concur with the vote of the commons.

A. C. 1689. whig party moved that, ſuppoſing king James virtually dead, they ſhould acknowledge the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen of England: but this propoſal was rejected by a ſmall majority. On the ſecond day of February, the lords ſent down the vote of the commons, with their amendments, which were not approved by the lower houſe. A conference was held, without producing an accommodation: then the commons appointed four and twenty members, to maintain the opinions of their houſe, in a new conference; and the peers nominated the earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rocheſter, and Pembroke, the biſhop of Ely, and ſome others, to ſupport their ſentiments in favour of the amendments they had propoſed. This conference was managed with great ability on the part of the commons, by Hambden, Somers, Holt, Maynard, Treby, Sacheverel, Pollexfen, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Richard Temple, Foley, and Ayres: yet, rather than ſhock the tories by attacking their favourite doctrines, they choſe to wave ſome ſtrong arguments they might have deduced from the neceſſity of the caſe, the firſt principles of the conſtitution, and the natural right that, in ſuch emergencies, the people certainly had to provide extraordinary remedies for the preſervation of the community. The report of this conference, made to the houſe of peers, produced warm debates: but at length the majority agreed to deſiſt from their amendments; and the houſe concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the go-"vernment, and thereby the throne was become "vacant."

Private declaration of the prince of Orange.

During theſe diſputes the prince of Orange remained at St. James's, without making the leaſt effort to increaſe the number of his partiſans. Though

Though naturally dry and phlegmatic, he was now more reſerved than ever; and the members of both houſes were ſurpriſed, that no application was made to them in his behalf. At length ſending for the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewſbury, and ſome other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept ſilence, that he might not ſeem to interfere with the freedom of their deliberations. He ſaid he knew ſome perſons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he would not undertake the office. Others, he obſerved, were deſirous of raiſing the princeſs to the throne; and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy. He declared his profound eſteem for the princeſs, but he was not of a humour to hold a crown dependent upon any woman on earth; nor would he have any ſhare in the government, unleſs inveſted with it for life: nevertheleſs, if they thought proper to act in another manner, he would give them no oppoſition, but return to Holland, without meddling further in their affairs; but in caſe they ſhould inveſt him with the royalty for life, he would agree that the poſterity of the princeſs Anne ſhould be preferred to that which he might have by a ſecond marriage. A. C. 1689.

When the houſe of peers proceeded to deliberate upon an expedient to fill the vacant throne, Halifax propoſed that the prince of Orange ſhould reign alone, and the princeſſes ſucceed in order, at his death. This motion gave riſe to violent debates; and the two houſes began to be divided into parties. The earl of Danby ſent an expreſs to the princeſs of Orange, with an aſſurance that if ſhe choſe to reign alone, he had intereſt enough to carry that point in her favour: ſhe replied that ſhe was the prince's wife, and would never cheriſh a ſeparate

William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England.

A.C. 1689. ſeparate intereſt from that of her huſband, to whom ſhe tranſmitted the earl's letter. At laſt the two houſes agreed, and each voted apart, that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the adminiſtration ſhould be in the hands of the prince alone. This vote, however, paſſed by a very ſmall majority in the upper houſe, and not without a formal proteſt by the oppoſite party. Then the convention, after ſome diſputes, reduced the oath of allegiance to its original ſimplicity, of being faithful to the king and queen. On the twelfth day of February the princeſs of Orange arrived in London. Next day the members of the two houſes went in a body to the Banquetting-houſe, where the prince and princeſs ſat in ſtate; and the Declaration of Rights * being read, the marquis of Hallifax,

Burnet. Rapin. Echard. D'Avaux. Ralph.

* Whereas the late king James the ſecond, by the aſſiſtance of divers evil counſellors, judges, and miniſters employed by him, did endeavour to ſubvert and extirpate the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by aſſuming and exerciſing a power of diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of laws, without conſent of parliament: by committing and proſecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid aſſumed power: by iſſuing and cauſing to be executed, a commiſſion under the great ſeal, for erecting a court called, The court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes: by levying money for and to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the ſame was granted by parliament: By raiſing and keeping a ſtanding-army within this kingdom in time of peace, without conſent of parliament; and quartering ſoldiers contrary to law: By cauſing divers good ſubjects, being proteſtants, to be diſarmed, at the ſame time when papiſts were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to ſerve in parliament: By proſecutions in the court of king's bench for matters and cauſes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courſes. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified perſons have been returned and

ſerved

Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the A. C. 1689.

ſerved on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treaſon, which were not freeholders; and exceſſive bail hath been required of perſons committed in criminal caſes, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the ſubjects; and exceſſive fines have been impoſed; and illegal and cruel puniſhments inflicted; and ſeveral grants and promiſes made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment againſt the perſons upon whom the ſame were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and ſtatutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the ſaid late king James the ſecond having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highneſs the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleaſed Almighty God to make the glorious inſtrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and divers principal perſons of the commons) cauſe letters to be written to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, being proteſtants, and other letters to the ſeveral counties, cities, univerſities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chuſing of ſuch perſons to repreſent them, as were of right to be ſent to parliament, to meet and ſit at Weſtminſter upon the twenty-ſecond day of January, in this year 1688, in order to ſuch an eſtabliſhment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being ſubverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, purſuant to their ſeveral letters and elections, being now aſſembled in a full and free repreſentative of this nation, taking into their moſt ſerious conſideration the beſt means for attaining the ends aforeſaid, do in the firſt place (as their anceſtors in like caſe have uſually done) for vindicating and aſſerting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

1. That the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is illegal. 3. That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

A. C. 1689. the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince replied in gracious terms of acknowledgment;

cious. 4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects, which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high-treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premisses, as their undoubted rights and liberties: And no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premisses, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties; the lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold

ledgment; and that very day he and the princeſs were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England. A. C. 1689.

hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions, to them the ſaid prince and princeſs, during their lives and the life of the ſurvivor of them; and that the ſole and full exerciſe of the regal power be only in, and executed by the ſaid prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid prince and princeſs during their joint lives; and after their deceaſe the ſaid crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the ſaid prince of Orange.

And the ſaid lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the ſaid prince and princeſs of Orange to accept the ſame accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all perſons of whom the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy might be required by law, inſtead of them; and that the ſaid oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy be abrogated: I A.B. do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majeſties, king William and queen Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, That no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority eccleſiaſtical, or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

THE

A COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

REVOLUTION,

TO THE

TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris ſervitutis, ac teſtimonium præſentium bonorum compoſuiſſe. TACIT. Agricola.

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MDCCLIX.

WILLIAM III.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK EIGHTH.

From the REVOLUTION to the Death of queen ANNE.

WILLIAM III.

THE conſtitution of England had now aſ- A. C. 1689.
ſumed a new aſpect. The maxim of here- State of the nation immediately after the revolution.
ditary, indefeaſible right, was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The repreſentatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their conſtituents; and William III. aſcended the throne in conſequence of an expreſs capitulation with the people. Yet on this occaſion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer ſeems to have overſhot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at leaſt they

A. C. 1689. neglected the faireſt opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench thoſe prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve them at his pleaſure. He was enabled to influence elections and oppreſs corporations. He poſſeſſed the right of chuſing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the ſtate, and of the houſhold, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reſerved the abſolute command of the militia: ſo that he remained maſter of all the inſtruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other reſtraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of reſiſtance on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the ſettlement was finiſhed with ſome precipitation, before the plan had been properly digeſted and matured; and this will be the caſe in every eſtabliſhment formed upon a ſudden emergency in the face of oppoſition. It was obſerved, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern jure divino, though it was created jure humano; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican ſpirit, the ſettlement was built upon tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued ſtill independent of his commiſſion, while his own perſon remained ſacred and inviolable. The prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common ſenſe of danger; but this tie was no ſooner broken, than they flew aſunder, and each reſumed its original biaſs. Their mutual jealouſy and rancour revived, and was heated by diſpute into intemperate zeal and enthuſiaſm. Thoſe who at firſt acted from principles of patriotiſm,

patriotism, were insensibly warmed into partisans; A. C. 1689.
and king William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king, and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of the English Roman catholics whom James had employed: that the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enslaving England, and the murder of the earl of Essex; reports countenanced by the prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: That the prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: That the two houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late sovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence: and, That the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of Somers's Collection. Rapin. Burnet.

A. C. 1689. ſome noblemen, and other individuals, diſappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment.

Account of the new miniſtry.

William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all proteſtants in the offices which they enjoyed on the firſt day of December: then he choſe the members of his council, who were generally ſtaunch to his intereſt, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham*; and theſe were admitted in complaiſance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviſeable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewſbury were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the privy-ſeal was beſtowed upon the marquis of Hallifax; the earl of Danby was created preſident of the council. Theſe two noblemen enjoyed a good ſhare of the king's confidence: and Nottingham was conſiderable as head of the church-party: but the chief favourite was Bentinck, firſt commoner on the liſt of privy-counſellors, as well as groom of the ſtole and privy-purſe. D'Auverquerque was made maſter of the horſe, Zuyleſtein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the treaſury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commiſſion; twelve able judges were choſen†; and the dioceſe of Saliſbury being vacated by the death of doctor Ward, the king, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous ſtickler for his intereſt; and, in a particular manner, inſtrumental in effect-

* The council conſiſted of the prince of Denmark, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Winchester, the earls of Danby, Lindſey, Devonſhire, Dorſet, and Middleſex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viſcounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powel, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boſcawen.

† Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief-juſtice of the king's bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the common pleas; the earl of Devonſhire was made lord-ſteward of the houſhold, and the earl of Dorſet lord-chamberlain. Ralph.

ing

ing the revolution. Sancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to conſecrate this eccleſiaſtic, tho' the reaſons of his refuſal are not ſpecified: but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commiſſion to the biſhop of London, and three other ſuffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of ſome parts, and great induſtry; moderate in his notions of church-diſcipline, inquiſitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In conſequence of having incurred the diſpleaſure of the late king, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his reſidence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himſelf to the intereſt of the prince of Orange, who conſulted him about the affairs of England. He aſſiſted in drawing up the prince's manifeſto, and wrote ſome other papers and pamphlets in defence of his deſign. He was demanded of the ſtates, by the Engliſh ambaſſador, as a Britiſh fugitive, outlawed by king James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: nevertheleſs, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in ſome meaſure to the ſucceſs of that expedition. The principal individuals that compoſed this miniſtry have been characteriſed in the hiſtory of the preceding reigns. We have had occaſion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Hallifax; the plauſibility, the enterpriſing genius, the obſtinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and oſtentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewſbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treaſury, was modeſt, ſilent, ſagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed firſt commiſſioner of that board, and afterwards created earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the ſequel to the rank of earl of Warrington, A. C. 1689.

A.C. 1689 was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his master, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the king raised to the dignity of earl of Portland.

The English favourite Sidney was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created earl of Romney, a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the Whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

The convention converted into a parliament.

The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous: therefore, the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised. He assured them he should never take any step that would diminish the good oppinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance: that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration: that a good settlement was necessary not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad;

abroad; that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: he therefore begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensibly necessary for the welfare of the nation. The commons, returning to their house, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the house; so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These therefore brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden, in the lower house, put the question, Whether a king elected by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster, coming to, and consulting with the said lords and commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament; and as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The Whigs replied, That the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the king, lords, and commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter. They proved this assertion by examples deduced from the history of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loss of time; and that such delay might A.C. 1689.

prove

A.C.1689. prove fatal to the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midſt of this debate, the bill was brought down from the lords; and being read, a committee was appointed to make ſome amendments. Theſe were no ſooner made than the commons ſent it back to the upper houſe, and it immediately received the royal aſſent. By this act the lords and commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter were declared the two houſes of parliament to all intents and purpoſes: it likewiſe ordained, That the preſent act and all other acts to which the royal aſſent ſhould be given before the next prorogation, ſhould be underſtood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, inſtead of the old oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſhould take the new oath incorporated in this act, under the antient penalty: and, That the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved in the uſual manner. Immediately after this tranſaction, a warm debate aroſe in the houſe of commons about the revenue, which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at leaſt, during the life of James: for which term the greater part of it had been granted. Thoſe in the oppoſition affirmed, that thoſe grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue ſhould be ſettled on the king and queen; and the houſe reſolved it ſhould be taken into conſideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a meſſage from his majeſty, importing, that the late king had ſet ſail from Breſt with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be levied by monthly aſſeſſ-

assessment; and both houses waited on the king, A. C. 1689.
to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place, until several lords spiritual as well as temporal, had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury: Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Loyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath, were the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the house at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king de facto, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

Mutiny in the army.

This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king, having received some intimation of their designs, from intercepted letters, ordered the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended, and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such

A. C. 1689. such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to treſpaſs upon the law of England. The lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and deſired he would ſecure all diſturbers of the peace; but, the commons impowered him by a bill to diſpenſe with the Habeas corpus act, till the ſeventeenth day of April next enſuing. This was a ſtretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A ſpirit of diſcontent had by this time diffuſed itſelf through the army, and become ſo formidable to the court, that the king reſolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and ſend over to Holland in their room ſuch regiments as were moſt tinctured with diſaffection. Of theſe the Scottiſh regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by marechal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipſwich, ſeized the military cheſt, diſarmed the officers who oppoſed their deſign, declared for king James, and, with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. William being informed of this revolt, ordered general Ginkle to purſue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons; and the mutineers ſurrendered at diſcretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet ſubmitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to puniſh them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his firſt intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the miniſtry, who were divided among themſelves, and wavered in their principles. However, they ſeized this opportunity to bring in a bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, which in a little time paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The

The coronation-oath * being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the biſhop of London officiating, at the king's deſire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malcontent. Next day the commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an addreſs of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new ſubjects, and check the progreſs of clamour and diſcontent, ſignified, in a ſolemn meſſage to the houſe of commons, his readineſs to acquieſce in any meaſure they ſhould think proper to take for a new regulation or total ſuppreſſion of the hearth-money, which he underſtood was a grievous impoſition on the ſubjects; and this tax was afterwards aboliſhed. He was gratified with an addreſs of thanks, couched in the warmeſt expreſſions of duty, gratitude, and affection; declaring they would take ſuch meaſures in ſupport of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people. A. C. 1689. The coronation, and abolition of hearth-money.

He had, in his anſwer to their former addreſs, aſſured them of his conſtant regard to the rights and proſperity of the nation: he had explained the exhauſted ſtate of the Dutch, expatiated upon The commons vote a ſum of money to indemnify the Dutch.

* The new form of the coronation-oath conſiſted in the following queſtions and anſwers. "Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the "people of this kingdom of England, "and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in "parliament agreed on, and the laws "and cuſtoms of the ſame?"

"I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do."

"Will you, to your power, cauſe "law and juſtice in mercy to be exe-"cuted in all your judgments?"

"I will."

"Will you, to the utmoſt of your "power maintain the laws of God, "the true profeſſion of the goſpel, "and the proteſtant reformed religion "as by law eſtabliſhed? And will you "preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy "of this realm, and to the churches "committed to their charge, all ſuch "rights and privileges as by law do, "or ſhall appertain unto them, or "any of them?"

"All this I promiſe to do."

Then the king or queen laying his or her hand upon the goſpels, ſhall ſay, "The things which I have here "before promiſed, I will perform and "keep. So help me God."

the

A. C. 1689. the zeal of that republic for the intereſts of Britain, and the maintenance of the proteſtant religion; expreſſed his hope that the Engliſh parliament would not only repay the ſums they had expended in his expedition; but, likewiſe farther ſupport them to the utmoſt of their ability againſt the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had obſerved that a conſiderable army and fleet would be neceſſary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he deſired they would ſettle the revenue in ſuch a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and diſpute. The ſum total of the money expended by the ſtates-general in William's expedition, amounted to ſeven millions of guilders, and the commons granted ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of this debt, incurred for the preſervation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raiſing and maintaining an army of two and twenty thouſand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet; but, they provided for no more than half a year's ſubſiſtence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finiſhed in that term; and this inſtance of frugality the king conſidered as a mark of their diffidence of his adminiſtration. The Whigs were reſolved to ſupply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment; but, he was not at all pleaſed with their precaution.

William's efforts in favour of the diſſenters.

William was naturally biaſſed to calviniſm, and averſe to perſecution. Whatever promiſes he had made, and whatever ſentiments of reſpect he entertained for the church of England, he ſeemed now in a great meaſure alienated from it, by the oppoſition he had met with from its members, particularly from the biſhops who had thwarted his meaſures; who had, by abſenting themſelves from parliament, and refuſing the oath, plainly diſown-

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ed his title, and renounced his government. He A.C. 1689.
therefore reſolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the ſame time, by removing the obſtacles affixed to nonconformity, that all proteſtant diſſenters ſhould be rendered capable of enjoying and exerciſing civil employments. When he gave his aſſent to the bill for ſuſpending the Habeas corpus act, he recommended the eſtabliſhment of a new oath in lieu of thoſe of allegiance and ſupremacy: he expreſſed his hope that they would leave room for the admiſſion of all his proteſtant ſubjects who ſhould be found qualified for the ſervice: he ſaid, ſuch a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themſelves, and ſtrengthen them againſt their common adverſaries. In conſequence of this hint, a clauſe was inſerted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the ſacramental teſt was declared unneceſſary in rendering any perſon capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the houſe of lords. Another clauſe for the ſame purpoſe, though in different terms, was propoſed by the king's direction, and met with the ſame fate, though in both caſes ſeveral noblemen entered a proteſt againſt the reſolution of the houſe. Theſe fruitleſs efforts, in favour of diſſenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen againſt king William, who would have willingly compromiſed the difference, by excuſing the clergy from the oaths, provided the diſſenters might be exempted from the ſacramental teſt; but, this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the propoſal was rejected. The church-party in the houſe of lords moved, that inſtead of inſerting a clauſe, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king ſhould be empowered to tender him; and, in caſe of their refuſal, they ſhould incur the

A. C. 1689. penalty, becauſe deprivation, or the apprehenſion of it, might make them deſperate, and excite them to form deſigns againſt the government. This argument had no weight with the commons, who thought it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their inſtructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clauſe to empower the king to indulge any twelve clergymen deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleaſure. Thus the antient oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated; the declaration of non-reſiſtance in the act of uniformity was repealed; the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive ſimplicity; and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the firſt day of Auguſt, on pain of being ſuſpended from their office for ſix months; and of intire deprivation, in caſe they ſhould not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with ſuch reſervations and diſtinctions as were not much for the honour of their ſincerity.

Act for a toleration. The king, though baffled in his deſign againſt the ſacramental teſt, reſolved to indulge the diſſenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpoſe being prepared by the earl of Nottingham, was, after ſome debate, paſſed into a law, under the title of, An act for exempting their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws ſhould be conſtrued to extend to thoſe diſſenters who ſhould take the oaths to the preſent government, and ſubſcribe the declaration of the thirtieth year in the reign of Charles II. provided, that they ſhould hold

hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut; and that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tythes or other parochial duties: That, in case of being chosen in the offices of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who shall take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against non-conformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices; yet all justices of the peace were impowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to anabapists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen; and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposals of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he could not pretend to screen the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them A.C. 1689.

A. C. 1689. with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

Violent disputes about the bill for a comprehension.

We have observed, that in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the house of lords, for uniting their majesties protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favour of the dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of laity in the commission to be given by the king to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution?" A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition; and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hope of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

The commons address the king to summon a convocation of the clergy.

The bill was with difficulty passed in the house of lords: but the commons treated it with neglect. By this time a great number of malcontent members, who had retired from parliament, were returned,

turned, with a view to thwart the adminiſtration, A. C. 1689.
though they could not prevent the ſettlement. Inſtead of proceeding with the bill, they preſented an addreſs to the king, thanked him for his gracious declaration, and repeated aſſurances, that he would maintain the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed; a church whoſe doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewiſe humbly beſought his majeſty to iſſue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be conſulted in eccleſiaſtical matters, according to the antient uſage of parliaments; and they declared they would forthwith take into conſideration, proper methods for giving eaſe to proteſtant diſſenters. Though the king was diſpleaſed at this addreſs, in which the lords alſo had concurred, he returned a civil anſwer, by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, profeſſing his regard for the church of England, which ſhould always be his peculiar care; recommending the diſſenters to their protection, and promiſing to ſummon a convocation as ſoon as ſuch a meaſure ſhould be convenient. This meſſage produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Thoſe who moved for it had no other view than that of diſplaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppoſe it with all their intereſt. Others were afraid of eſpouſing it, leſt they ſhould be ſtigmatized as enemies to the church; and a great number of the moſt eminent preſbyterians were averſe to a ſcheme of comprehenſion, which would diminiſh their ſtrength, and weaken the importance of the party. Being therefore violently oppoſed on one hand, and but faintly ſupported on the other, no wonder it miſcarried. The king, however, was ſo bent upon the execution of his deſign, that it was next ſeſſion revived in another form, though with no better ſucceſs.

A. C. 1689. Settlement of the revenue.

The next object that engroſſed the attention of the parliament, was the ſettlement of a revenue for the ſupport of the government. Hitherto there had been no diſtinction of what was allotted for the king's uſe, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the public; ſo that the ſovereign was entirely maſter of the whole ſupply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and miſapplied, it was now reſolved that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and that the reſt of the public money ſhould be employed under the inſpection of parliament. Accordingly, ſince this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly ſupplies to certain ſpecified ſervices; and an account of the application has been conſtantly ſubmitted to both houſes at the next ſeſſion. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue ſhould be granted from year to year, or at leaſt for a ſmall term of years, that the king might find himſelf dependent upon the parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant by a juſt and popular adminiſtration. In purſuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under conſideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations, which they had not time to examine, granted it by a proviſional act for one year only. The civil liſt was ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the judges, and marechal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thouſand pounds, in conſideration of his important ſervices to the nation. The commons alſo voted, that a conſtant revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the crown in time of peace.

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The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done to the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, suffered the bill to lie neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the canal of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty; but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a prosecution from their implacable enemies. A. C. 1689. The king takes umbrage at the proceedings of the Whig-party.

These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he sent a message to the house by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by Heats and animosities about the bill of indemnity recommended by the king.

A.C. 1689. the backwardneſs of the Whigs, who proceeded ſo ſlowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the ſeſſion. They wanted to keep the ſcourge over the heads of their enemies, until they ſhould find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, reſtrain them from oppoſition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to inſinuate that the king's deſign was to raiſe the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and for that purpoſe he preſſed the act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally uſe the inſtruments of the late tyranny. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington induſtriouſly infuſed theſe jealouſies into the minds of their party; while, on the other hand, the earl of Nottingham inflamed William's diſtruſt of his old friends: and both ſides ſucceeded in kindling an animoſity, which had like to have produced confuſion, notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed by the earls of Shrewſbury and Devonſhire to allay thoſe heats, and remove the ſuſpicion that mutually prevailed.

Birth of the duke of Gloucester.

It was now judged expedient to paſs an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to the former reſolution of the convention. A bill for this purpoſe was brought into the lower houſe, with a clauſe diſabling papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown: to this the lords added, "Or ſuch as "ſhould marry papiſts," abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from allegiance. The biſhop of Saliſbury, by the king's direction, propoſed that the princeſs Sophia dutcheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, ſhould be nominated in the act of ſucceſſion, as the next proteſtant heirs, failing iſſue of the king, and Anne princeſs of Denmark. Theſe amendments gave riſe to warm debates in the lower houſe, where they were vigorouſly oppoſed, not only by thoſe who wiſhed well in ſecret to the late king and the lineal

lineal ſucceſſion, but likewiſe by the republican party, who hoped to ſee monarchy altogether extinguiſhed in England, by the death of the three perſons already named in the bill of ſucceſſion. The lords inſiſted upon their amendments, and ſeveral fruitleſs conferences were held between the two houſes. At length the bill was dropped for the preſent, in conſequence of an event which in a great meaſure diſſipated the fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor. This was the delivery of the princeſs Anne, who, on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, brought forth a ſon, chriſtened by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Glouceſter. A. C. 1689.

In the midſt of theſe domeſtic diſputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reaſon to confide in his repeated aſſurances of inviolable affection. The great ſcheme which he had projected of a confederacy againſt France, began at this period to take effect. The princes of the empire aſſembled in the diet, ſolemnly exhorted the emperor to declare war againſt the French king, who had committed numberleſs infractions of the treaties of Munſter, Oſnabrug, Nimeguen, and the truce, invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himſelf an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They therefore beſought his imperial majeſty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and come to an open rupture with Lewis; in which caſe, they would conſider it as a war of the empire, and ſupport their head in the moſt effectual manner. The ſtates-general publiſhed a declaration againſt the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the ſubjects of the republic in the perſecution which he had raiſed againſt the proteſtants; with having ca- Affairs of the continent.

A. C. 1689. joled and inſulted them with deceitful promiſes and inſolent threats; with having plundered and oppreſſed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and finally, with having declared war againſt the ſtates, without any plauſible reaſon aſſigned. The elector of Brandenburgh denounced war againſt France, as a power whoſe perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every prince to oppoſe. The marquis De Caſtanaga governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, iſſued a counter-declaration to that of Lewis, who had declared againſt his maſter. He accuſed the French king of having laid waſte the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the moſt barbarous acts of cruelty and oppreſſion; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Chriſt for the deſtruction of the empire. The emperor negociated an alliance offenſive and defenſive, with the ſtates-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power againſt France and her allies. It was ſtipulated, that neither ſide ſhould engage in a ſeparate treaty, on any pretence whatſoever: that no peace ſhould be admitted, until the treaties of Weſtphalia, Oſnabrug, Munſter, and the Pyrenees, ſhould have been vindicated: that in caſe of a negociation for a peace or truce, the tranſactions on both ſides ſhould be communicated bona fide; and that Spain and England ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty. In a ſeparate article, the contracting powers agreed, that in caſe of the Spaniſh king's dying without iſſue, the ſtates-general ſhould aſſiſt the emperor with all their forces to take poſſeſſion of that monarchy: That they ſhould uſe their friendly endeavours with the princes electors their allies, towards elevating his ſon Joſeph to the dignity of king of the Romans, and employ their utmoſt force againſt France,

France, ſhould ſhe attempt to oppoſe his elevation. A. C. 1689.

War declared againſt France.

William, who was the ſoul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to undertake a war againſt their old enemies and rivals. On the ſixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom with reſpect to France, and foreign alliances; and the commons unanimouſly reſolved, that in caſe his majeſty ſhould think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An addreſs was immediately drawn up, and preſented to the king, deſiring he would ſeriouſly conſider the deſtructive methods taken of late years by the French king, againſt the trade, quiet, and intereſt of the nation, particularly his preſent invaſion of Ireland, and ſupporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, with ſuch as might hereafter be concluded by his majeſty, would be ſufficient to reduce the French king to ſuch a condition, that it ſhould not be in his power to violate the peace of Chriſtendom; nor prejudice the trade and proſperity of England: in the mean time they aſſured his majeſty he might depend upon the aſſiſtance of his parliament, according to the vote which had paſſed in the houſe of commons. This was a welcome addreſs to king William, who aſſured them that no part of the ſupplies which they might grant for the proſecution of the war, ſhould be miſapplied; and, on the ſeventh day of May, he declared war againſt the French monarch. On this occaſion Lewis was charged with having ambitiouſly invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war againſt the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the Engliſh crown; with having encroached

A. C. 1689. croached upon the fiſhery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee iſlands, taken forcible poſſeſſion of New York and Hudſon's-bay, made depredations on the Engliſh at ſea, prohibited the importation of Engliſh manufactures, diſputed the right of the flag, perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on account of religion, contrary to expreſs treaties and the law of nations; and ſent an armament to Ireland, in ſupport of the rebels of that kingdom.

Proceedings in the convention of Scotland, of which the duke of Hamilton is choſen preſident.

Having thus deſcribed the progreſs of the revolution in England, we ſhall now briefly explain the meaſures that were proſecuted in Scotland, towards the eſtabliſhment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottiſh convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their intereſt to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the preſbyterians, declared for William. The duke of Gordon maintained the caſtle of Edinburgh for his old maſter; but, as he had neglected to lay in a ſtore of proviſions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for ſubſiſtence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras and Graham, viſcount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preſerve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their ſovereign; and to manage their intrigues in ſuch a manner, as to derive ſome advantage to their cauſe from the tranſactions of the enſuing ſeſſion. When the lords and commons aſſembled at Edinburgh, the biſhop of that dioceſe, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the reſtoration of king James. The firſt diſpute turned upon the choice of a preſident. The friends of the late king ſet up the marquis of Athol, in oppoſition to the duke of Hamilton; but this laſt was elected by a conſiderable majority; and a good number

number of the other party finding their cauſe the weakeſt, deſerted it from that moment. The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were ſent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the eſtates, to quit the caſtle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the proteſtant officer next in command. The duke, though in himſelf irreſolute, was animated by Dundee to demand ſuch conditions as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proving ineffectual, the eſtates ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to ſummon him to ſurrender the caſtle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treaſon; and he refuſing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All perſons were forbid, under the ſame penalties, to aid, ſuccour, or correſpond with him; and the caſtle was blocked up by the troops of the city. A. C. 1689.

Next day an expreſs arrived from London, with a letter from king William to the ſtates; and at the ſame time, another from James was preſented by one Crane, an Engliſh domeſtic of the abdicated queen. William obſerved that he had called a meeting of their eſtates, at the deſire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland aſſembled at London, who requeſted that he would take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert meaſures for ſettling the peace of the kingdom upon a ſolid foundation; and to lay aſide animoſities and factions, which ſerved only to impede that ſalutary ſettlement. He profeſſed himſelf ſenſible of the good effects that would ariſe from an union of the two kingdoms; and aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to promote ſuch a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a reſpectful anſwer to theſe aſſurances, a debate enſued about the letter from the late king James, which they reſolved to favour with a read- Letters to the convention from king William and king James.

A. C. 1689. ing, after the members ſhould have ſubſcribed an act, declaring, that notwithſtanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for diſſolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the ſtates, and would continue undiſſolved, until they ſhould have ſettled and ſecured the proteſtant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of their late ſovereign, who conjured them to ſupport his intereſt as faithful ſubjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty ſuitable to their former profeſſions. He ſaid he would not fail to give them ſuch ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance as would enable them to defend themſelves from any foreign attempt; and even to aſſert his right againſt thoſe enemies who had depreſſed it by the blackeſt uſurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to paſs unpuniſhed. He offered pardon to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty before the laſt day of the month; and threatened to puniſh rigorouſly ſuch as ſhould ſtand out in rebellion againſt him and his authority.

They recognize the authority of king William.

This addreſs produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whoſe friends were greatly outnumbered in this aſſembly. His meſſenger was ordered into cuſtody, and afterwards diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. James foreſeeing this contempt, had, by an inſtrument dated in Ireland, authoriſed the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the earl of Balcarras, and the viſcount Dundee, to call a convention of the eſtates at Stirling. Theſe three depended on the intereſt of the marquis of Athol and the earl of Mar, who profeſſed the warmeſt affection for the late king; and they hoped a ſeceſſion of their friends would embarraſs the convention, ſo as to retard the ſettlement of king William.

Their

Their expectations, however, were disappointed. A.C. 1689.
Athol deserted their cause; Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat; the rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the viscount of Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognized by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the king of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution: they besought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the earl of Mar governor of Stirling-castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched lord Ross, with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, congratulating him upon his success, thanking him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates, declaring they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing

A. C. 1689. securing the proteſtant religion, as well as for eſtabliſhing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; aſſuring him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid diſputes and animoſities; and deſiring the continuance of his majeſty's care and protection.

They vote the crown vacant, and paſs an act of ſettlement in favour of William and Mary.

After the departure of lord Roſs, they appointed a committee, conſiſting of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgeſſes, to prepare the plan of a new ſettlement; but this reſolution was not taken without a vigorous oppoſition from ſome remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deſerted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote. "The eſtates "of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That "king James VII. being a profeſſed papiſt, did "aſſume the royal power, and act as a king, "without ever taking the oath required by law; "and had, by the advice of evil and wicked coun- "ſellors, invaded the fundamental conſtitution of "this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and li- "mited monarchy, to an arbitrary deſpotic power; "and governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the "proteſtant religion, and violation of the laws and "liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of "government; whereby he had forfaulted the "right of the crown, and the throne was become va- "cant." When this vote was reported, the biſhop of Edinburgh argued ſtrenuouſly againſt it, as containing a charge, of which the king was innocent; and he propoſed that his majeſty ſhould be invited to return to his Scottiſh dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled; the houſe confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord preſident declared the throne vacant, and propoſed that it might

might be filled with William and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured. A. C. 1689.

On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the instrument, were reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord president, assisted by the lord provost and magistracy of the city, the duke of Queensbury, the marquisses of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the late king James; or by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the earl of Argyle for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, impowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the goverment. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the

They appoint commissioners to make a tender of their crown to William, who receives it on the conditions they propose.

A. C. 1689. the grievances of the nation; and an addreſs, deſiring his majeſty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciouſly promiſed to concur with them in all juſt meaſures for the intereſt of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majeſties by the earl of Argyle. As it contained a clauſe, importing, that they ſhould root out hereſy, the king declared, that he did not mean by theſe words, that he ſhould be under an obligation to act as a perſecutor: the commiſſioners replying, that ſuch was not the meaning or import of the oath, he deſired them, and others preſent, to bear witneſs to the exception he had made.

Enumeration of their grievances. The convention is declared a parliament, and the duke of Hamilton king's commiſſioner.

In the mean time, lord Dundee exerted himſelf with uncommon activity in behalf of his maſter. He had been ſummoned by a trumpet to return to the convention; but refuſed to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the eſtates were influenced by the neighbourhood of Engliſh troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorouſly hated by the preſbyterians, on whom he had exerciſed ſome cruelties, as an officer under the former government; and for this reaſon the ſtates reſolved to inflict upon him exemplary puniſhment. Parties were detached in purſuit of him and Balcarras. This laſt fell into their hands, and was committed to a common priſon; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that ſurrounded him, and eſcaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of that nature, until he ſhould receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in aſſembling the clans

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of his party, king William appointed the duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention-parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon lord Melvil, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns: but the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple lord Stair, president of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Tho' these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the council-board; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the king's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure; and the superiority of any office in the church, above that of presbyters. The king, in his instructions to the lord commissioner, consented to a regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated: he was contented that the act relating to the king's supremacy should be rescinded; and that the church-government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people. A. C. 1689.

On the seventeenth day of June, duke Hamilton opened the Scottish parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his majesty's direction: but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the lords of the articles, Prelacy abolished in that kingdom. The Scots dissatisfied with the king's conduct.

A. C. 1689. which they considered as their chief grievance *. The king permitted that the estates should chuse the lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit; but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act, abolishing prelacy. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration: namely, that of the king's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust, place, or employment, under their majesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change; or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the house, but proved ineffectual for want of the royal assent.

Violent disputes in the Scottish parliament

Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcon-

* The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The king impowered the commissioners to chuse eight bishops, whom he authorised to nominate eight noblemen: these together chose eight barons, and eight burgesses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, safety, and benefit of the subjects. Proceedings of the Scots parliament vindicated.

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tents brought in a bill, declaring the bench vacant as it was at the reſtoration; aſſerting their own right to examine and approve thoſe who ſhould be appointed to fill it: providing, that if in time to come, any ſuch total vacancy ſhould occur, the nomination ſhould be in the king, or queen, or regent for the time being, and the parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauſes in the ſeveral acts relating to the admiſſion of the ordinary lords of ſeſſion, and their qualifications for that office, ſhould be ratified and confirmed for perpetual obſervation. Such was the intereſt of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the miniſters, who reſolved to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary reſolution. The majority, exaſperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbad the judges whom the king had appointed, to open their commiſſions, or hold a ſeſſion until his majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy council. The diſpute was carried on with great acrimony on both ſides, and produced ſuch a ferment, that before the ſeſſion opened, the miniſtry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to ſupport the judges in the exerciſe of their functions. A. C. 1689.

The lord-commiſſioner, alarmed at this ſcene of tumult and confuſion, adjourned the houſe till the eighth day of October; a ſtep, which added to the other unpopular meaſures of the court, incenſed the oppoſition to ſuch a degree, that they drew up a remonſtrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unſettled, recapitulating the ſeveral inſtances in which they had expreſſed their zeal and affection for his majeſty; explaining their reaſons for diſſenting from the mi- Which is adjourned. A remonſtrance preſented to the king.

A. C. 1689. niſtry in ſome articles; beſeeching him to conſider what they had repreſented; to give his royal aſſent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take meaſures for redreſſing all the other grievances of the nation. This addreſs was preſented to the king at Hampton-Court; and he was ſo touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, publiſhed his inſtructions to the commiſſioner; and by theſe it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raiſed money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for ſupporting the incidental expence of the government for ſome months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were ſupplied and ſubſiſted by the adminiſtration of England. In conſequence of theſe diſputes in the Scottiſh parliament, their church was left without any ſettled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was aboliſhed, the preſbyterian diſcipline was not yet eſtabliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical affairs were occaſionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of ſupremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed.

The caſtle of Edinburgh beſieged and taken.

The ſeſſion was no ſooner adjourned, than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh caſtle into a regular ſiege, which was proſecuted with ſuch vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced to the foot of the walls, in which the beſiegers had made ſeveral large breaches. The duke of Gordon finding his ammunition expended, his defences deſtroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and deſpairing of relief from the adherents of his maſter, deſired

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to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison; but, he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from king James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular; he therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentred in the viscount of Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert that officer, and join him in the action. Mackay having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsey's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry; then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochaber. Lord Murray, son of the marquis of Athol, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependants, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign. A. C. 1689.

The troops of king William defeated at Killycrankie.

The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water: instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but, the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it

A. C. 1689. without repining; and, far from abandoning himſelf to deſpair, began his march to the caſtle of Blair, which was threatened with a ſiege by general Mackay. When he reached this fortreſs, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the paſs of Killycrankie, and reſolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced againſt them; and a furious engagement enſued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the Engliſh, fell in among them ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity, that the foot were utterly broke in ſeven minutes. The dragoons fled at the firſt charge in the utmoſt conſternation: Dundee's horſe, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment. The earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himſelf maſter of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the ſpot, five hundred taken priſoners, and the reſt fled with great precipitation for ſome hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or deciſive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchaſed with the death of their beloved chieftain the viſcount of Dundee, who fell by a random-ſhot in the engagement, and his fate produced ſuch confuſion in the army as prevented all purſuit. He poſſeſſed an enterpriſing ſpirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and ſoul of that cauſe which he eſpouſed; and after his death it daily declined into ruin and diſgrace. He was ſucceeded in command by colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but, all his deſigns miſcarried: ſo that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by

by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which king William offered to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit within the time ſpecified in his proclamation. A. C. 1689.

After this ſketch of Scottiſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate prince and his queen were received with the moſt cordial hoſpitality by the French monarch, who aſſigned the caſtle of St. Germain for the place of their reſidence, ſupported their houſhold with great magnificence, enriched them with preſents, and undertook to re-eſtabliſh them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as conveyed no favourable idea of his ſpirit and underſtanding. He ſeemed to have been emaſculated by religion; he was deſerted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been diſtinguiſhed. He did not diſcover great ſenſibility at the loſs of his kingdom. All his faculties were ſwallowed up in bigotry. Inſtead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the jeſuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Lewis was mingled with contempt. The pope ſupplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in paſquinades. "There is a "pious man, ſaid the archbiſhop of Rheims, (iro-"nically) who has ſacrificed three crowns for a "maſs." In a word, he ſubjected himſelf to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation. King James cordially received by the French king.

All the hope of reaſcending the Britiſh throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this laſt kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the perſuaſions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his ſubmiſſion to the prince of Orange. Nevertheleſs, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, and tem- Tyrconnel temporizes with king William.

A. C. 1689. porized with William, until James ſhould be able to ſupply him with reinforcements from France, which he earneſtly ſollicited by private meſſages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the proteſtants of Ireland, and amuſe king William with hope of his ſubmiſſion, he perſuaded the lord Mountjoy, in whom the proteſtants chiefly confided, and baron Rice, to go in perſon with a commiſſion to James, repreſenting the neceſſity of yielding to the times; and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make uſe of his Iriſh ſubjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, inſtead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reaſons which Tyrconnel had ſuggeſted touching the inability of Ireland to reſtore his majeſty, was committed priſoner to the Baſtile, on account of the zeal with which he had eſpouſed the proteſtant intereſt. Although Lewis was ſincerely diſpoſed to aſſiſt James effectually, his intentions were obſtructed by the diſputes of his miniſtry. Louvois poſſeſſed the chief credit in council; but, Seignelai enjoyed a greater ſhare of perſonal favour, both with the king and madam de Maintenon. To this nobleman, as ſecretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promiſed the command of the troops deſtined for his ſervice, to Lauſun, whom Louvois hated. For theſe reaſons this miniſter thwarted his meaſures, and retarded the aſſiſtance which Lewis had promiſed towards his reſtoration.

James arrives in Ireland

Yet, notwithſtanding all his oppoſition, the ſuccours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to ſea by the latter end of February. The French king is ſaid to have offered an army of fifteen thouſand natives of France to ſerve in this expedition; but, James replied, that he would ſucceed by the help of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the

attempt. Accordingly he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects * and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I "can wish you (said he) is that I may never see "you again." On the seventh day of March James embarked at Brest, together with the count D'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time, king William perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon admiral Herbert; but, the arma- A. C. 1689.

* James in this expedition was attended by the duke of Berwick and Mr. Fitzjames grand prior, the duke of Powis, the earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the lords Drumment, Dungan, Trendraught, Buchan, Dunfron, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway, the late lord chief-justice Herbert; the marquis d'Eftrades, Mr. de Rozen marechal de camp; Mamon, Pusignan, and Lori, lieutenant-generals, Prentice engineer-general; the marquis de Albeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Lutterel, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two and twenty other officers of inferior rank.

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A. C. 1689. ment was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion; for, although the protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel, who had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry for the service of his master.

Issues five proclamations at Dublin.

In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board, the lord Granard, judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the lord-lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalling all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation; and requiring all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgement to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity; and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects

jects to supply his army with provisions; and pro- A. C. 1689.
hibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin. And in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure; and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition; but, did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Grafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until being over-powered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the

Siege of Londonderry.

A. C. 1689. the field, as the army of king James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to king James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton agreed, that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships; and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place; and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back: but, he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London, to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker for their governors, with joint-authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were imme-

immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence; and indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion; for the place was very ill fortified; their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations; they had a very small number of horse; the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline; they were destitute of provisions; they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April; the batteries were soon opened; and several attacks were made with great impetuosity: but, the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies; and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had not they been afflicted with a contagious distemper, and reduced to extremity for want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for, they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deserted his master and been employed in the service of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief; but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillen, which

A. C. 1689. The inhabitants defend themselves with surprising courage and perseverance.

A. C. 1689. which amounted to five thouſand men, including two thouſand cavalry. He ſaid he expected ſix thouſand men from England, where they were embarked before he ſet ſail. He exhorted them to perſevere in their courage and loyalty, and aſſured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. Theſe aſſurances enabled them to bear their miſeries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminiſhed; and major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

Cruelty of Roſene the French general.

King James having returned to Dublin to be preſent at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Roſene, who was exaſperated at ſuch an obſtinate oppoſition by a handful of half-ſtarved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and deſtroy the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, unleſs they would immediately ſubmit themſelves to their lawful ſovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and publiſhed an order, that no perſon, on pain of death, ſhould talk of ſurrendering. They had now conſumed the laſt remains of their proviſions, and ſupported life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, ſtarch, and ſalted hides; and even this loathſome food began to fail. Roſene, finding them deaf to all his propoſals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the proteſtants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they ſhould be ſuffered to periſh by famine. The biſhop of Meath being informed of this deſign, complained to king James of the barbarous intention, intreating his majeſty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince aſſured him that he had already ordered Roſene to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings. Nevertheleſs, he executed his threats with the utmoſt rigour. Parties of dragoons

goons were detached on this cruel service, and after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove those unhappy people before them like cattle; without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced quite a contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, That they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls, should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and sacked by the papists; so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy: yet, those very people had for the most part obtained protections from king James, to which no respect was paid by his general. A. C. 1689.

The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men; and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provision to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of The place is relieved by Kirke.

A. C. 1689. of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Inniskilliners defeat and take general Maccarty.

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March, and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor; and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Maccarty, commonly called lord Moncashel.

Meeting of the Irish parliament.

The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of king James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the

the generoſity of the French king, who had enabled him to viſit them in perſon; inſiſted upon executing his deſign of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, as a ſtep equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and diſcretion; and promiſed to concur with them in enacting ſuch laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and ſecurity of his ſubjects. Sir Richard Neagle being choſen ſpeaker of the commons, moved for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty; and that the count d'Avaux ſhould be deſired to make their acknowledgments to the moſt chriſtian king, for the generous aſſiſtance he had given to their ſovereign. Theſe addreſſes being drawn up, with the concurrence of both houſes, a bill was brought in to recognize the king's title, to expreſs their abhorrence of the uſurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the Engliſh. Next day James publiſhed a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had ſpread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality, in preferring his proteſtant ſubjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conſcience; promiſing that he would take no ſtep but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all perſons who ſhould deſert his enemies, and join with him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be ſhed upon thoſe who ſhould continue in rebellion. A.C. 1689.

His conduct, however, very ill agreed with this declaration: nor can it be excuſed on any other ſuppoſition but that of his being governed in ſome caſes againſt his own inclination, by the count d'Avaux, and the Iriſh catholics, on whom his whole dependance was placed. As both houſes were chiefly filled with members of that perſuaſion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill They repeal the reſt of ſettlement,

A.C. 1689. for repealing the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those catholics to whom they belonged before the rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the lords, Dr. Dopping bishop of Meath opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement was presented to the king by the earl of Granard: but, notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal assent; and the protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

Pass an act of attainder against absentees.

Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of king James, or corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act, amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three and thirty baronets, one and fifty knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription, were even cut off from

from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: A. C. 1689. for, by a clauſe in the act, the king's pardon was deemed null, unleſs enrolled before the firſt day of December; and a ſubſequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the Engliſh parliament. This aſſembly paſſed another act, granting twenty thouſand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited eſtates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his ſignal ſervices: they impoſed a tax of twenty thouſand pounds per month for the ſervice of the king: the royal aſſent was given to an act for liberty of conſcience: they enacted that the tythes payable by papiſts ſhould be delivered to prieſts of that communion: the maintenance of the proteſtant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away: and all diſſenters were exempted from eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions. So that the eſtabliſhed church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithſtanding the expreſs promiſe of James, who had declared immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

James coins bad money. The proteſtants of Ireland cruelly oppreſſed.

Nor was the king leſs arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we ſuppoſe that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppreſſion that were daily committed upon the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be juſtly imputed to the temper of his miniſtry, conſiſting of men abandoned to all ſenſe of juſtice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free-quarter; the people were robbed and plundered; licences and protections were abuſed, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old ſtores were ranſacked, the ſhops of tradeſmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to ſupply the mint with a quan-

A. C. 1689. tity of braſs, which was converted into current coin for his majeſty's occaſions. An arbitrary value was ſet upon it, and all perſons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the ſevereſt penalties, though the proportion between its intrinſic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vaſt ſum of this counterfeit coin was iſſued in the courſe of one year, and forced upon the proteſtants in payment of merchandize, proviſion, and neceſſaries for the king's ſervice. James, not content with the ſupply granted by parliament, impoſed by his own authority a tax of twenty thouſand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon land. This ſeems to have been a temporary expedient, during the adjournment of the two houſes, as the term of the aſſeſſment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commiſſion under the ſeals, and ſeems to have been a ſtretch of the prerogative the leſs excuſable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Underſtanding that the proteſtants had laid out all their braſs money in purchaſing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he aſſumed the deſpotic power of fixing the prices of theſe commodities, and then bought them for his own uſe. One may ſee his miniſters were bent upon the utter deſtruction of thoſe unhappy people.

Their churches are ſeized by the catholics, and they are forbid to aſſemble, on pain of death.

All vacancies in public ſchools were ſupplied with popiſh teachers. The penſion allowed from the exchequer to the univerſity of Dublin was cut off: the vice-provoſt, fellows and ſcholars, were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library, were ſeized, without the leaſt ſhadow of pretence, and in direct violation of the king's promiſe to preſerve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garriſon, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into priſons: a

popiſh prieſt was appointed provoſt; one Maccarty A. C. 1689.
of the ſame perſuaſion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic ſeminary. When biſhoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and ſuffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romiſh biſhops and prieſts, who grew ſo inſolent under this indulgence, that in ſeveral places they forcibly ſeized the proteſtant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the king promiſed to do juſtice to the injured; and in ſome places actually ordered the churches to be reſtored: but the popiſh clergy refuſed to comply with his order, alledging, that in ſpirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy ſee; and James found himſelf unable to protect his proteſtant ſubjects againſt a powerful body which he durſt not diſoblige. Some ſhips appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding the proteſtants to aſſemble in any place of worſhip, or elſewhere, on pain of death. By a ſecond, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Lutterel, governor of Dublin, publiſhed an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majeſty's horſes within a certain day, otherwiſe he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all proteſtants of a certain diſtrict to retire to the diſtance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the braſs money, the ſame penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, againſt any perſon who ſhould give more than one pound eighteen ſhillings for a guinea.

A. C. 1689. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the ſchemes contrived to bolſter up the credit of this baſe coin, would have proved inſufficient to ſupport the expences of the war, had not James received occaſional ſupplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Lewis ſent another ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to ſome tranſports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large ſum of money for the uſe of king James. Before they ſailed from Breſt, king William being informed of their deſtination, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ſhips of the line, one fire-ſhip, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by ſtreſs of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he ſteered his courſe to Kinſale, on the ſuppoſition that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt; and that in all probability he would fall in with them on the coaſt of Ireland. On the firſt day of May, he diſcovered them at anchor in Bantry bay, and ſtood in to engage them, though they were greatly ſuperior to him in number. They no ſooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, ſtood out to windward, formed their line, bore down and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both ſides, though the Engliſh fleet ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the ſuperior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked ſeveral times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon ſkill and perſeverance. At length the Engliſh ſquadron ſtood off to ſea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loſs of men was inconſiderable on both ſides; and,

Admiral Herbert worſted by the French fleet, in an engagement near Bantry Bay.

and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth, in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appease their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honour of knighthood on the captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor. A. C. 1689. Burnet. Rereſbey. King. Belcarres. De la Faye. Voltaire.

The parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Russel, Algernoon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and the lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords, to examine the case of the earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined in thirty thousand pounds for assaulting colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. They reported that the court of king's-bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to lord Russel, in consequence of which he had Divers sentences and attainders reversed in parliament.

A. C. 1689. been degraded, fined, ſcourged, and ſet in the pillory, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majeſty for ſome eccleſiaſtical preferment. He received one thouſand pounds in money, with a penſion of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his ſon, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father never obtained any eccleſiaſtical benefice. Titus Oates ſeized this opportunity of petitioning the houſe of lords for a reverſal of the judgment given againſt him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counſel at the bar were heard on this ſubject, and a bill of reverſal paſſed the commons; but the peers having inſerted ſome amendments and a proviſo, a conference was demanded, and violent heats enſued. Oates, however, was releaſed from confinement; and the lords, with the conſent of the commons, recommended him to his majeſty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable penſion. The committee appointed to enquire into the caſes of the ſtate-priſoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief-juſtice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the Weſt after the inſurrection of Monmouth; as alſo one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jeffries from the reſentment of the nation. Graham and Burton, who had acted as ſolicitors in the illegal proſecutions carried on againſt thoſe who oppoſed the court in the reign of king Charles II. were reported guilty of having been inſtrumental in taking away the lives and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of either, under colour of law, for eight years laſt paſt; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and proſecutions of Quo Warranto, endeavoured the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the government

ment of the realm; and of having waſted many thouſand pounds of the public revenue in the courſe of theſe infamous practices. A. C. 1689.

Nor did the miſconduct of the preſent miniſtry eſcape the animadverſion of the parliament. The lords having addreſſed the king to put the iſle of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, Dover-caſtle, and the other fortreſſes of the kingdom, in a poſture of defence, and to diſarm the papiſts, empowered a committee to enquire into the miſcarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the marquiſſes of Carmaerthen and Hallifax. They preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring the minute book of the committee for Iriſh affairs might be put into their hands; but his majeſty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the commons voted, that thoſe perſons who had adviſed the king to delay this ſatisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this reſolution, allowed them to inſpect the book, in which they found very little for their purpoſe. The houſe reſolved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, declaring that the ſuccour of Ireland had been retarded by unneceſſary delays; that the tranſports prepared were not ſufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that ſeveral ſhips had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the ſame time the queſtion was put, Whether or not they ſhould addreſs the king againſt the marquis of Hallifax? But it was carried in the negative by a ſmall majority. Before this period, Howe, vice-chamberlain to the queen, had moved for an addreſs againſt ſuch counſellors as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levelled at Carmaerthen and Hallifax, the firſt of whom had been formerly impeached of high-treaſon, under the title of earl of Danby; and the other was charged

Inquiry into the cauſe of miſcarriages in Ireland.

A. C. 1689. charged with all the miſconduct of the preſent adminiſtration. Warm debates enſued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not thoſe who ſpoke warmly in behalf of it, ſuddenly cooled in the courſe of the diſpute. Some letters from king James to his partiſans being intercepted, and containing ſome hints of an intended invaſion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole houſe, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was expoſed, and moved for a further ſupply to his majeſty. In this unexpected motion he was not ſeconded by one member. The houſe, however, having taken the letters into conſideration, reſolved to draw up an addreſs to the king, deſiring him to ſecure and diſarm all papiſts of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their majeſties; but it was not finiſhed during this ſeſſion.

Bills paſſed in this ſeſſion of parliament.

Another bill being prepared in the houſe of lords, enjoining the ſubjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain ſeaſons of the year, a petition was preſented againſt it by the ſilk-weavers of London and Canterbury, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at Weminſter. The lords refuſed their petition, becauſe this was an unuſual manner of application. They were perſuaded to return to their reſpective places of abode: precautions were taken againſt a ſecond riot, and the bill was unanimouſly rejected in the upper houſe. This parliament paſſed an act, veſting the preſentations belonging to papiſts in the two univerſities; thoſe of the ſouthern counties being given to Oxford; and thoſe of the northern to Cambridge, on certain ſpecified conditions. Courts of conſcience were erected at Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Newcaſtle; and that of the Marches of Wales was aboliſhed, as an intolerable oppreſſion on that country. The proteſtant clergymen who

who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviſo that they ſhould reſign their Engliſh benefices when reſtored to thoſe they had been obliged to relinquiſh. The ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt multiplying gold and ſilver was now repealed: the ſubjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and ſilver from them, on condition that it ſhould be brought to the Mint and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. Theſe and ſeveral other bills of ſmaller importance being paſſed, the two houſes adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October. A. C. 1689.

Though the affairs of Ireland were extremely preſſing, and the proteſtants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the ſuccours were retarded either by the diſputes among the miniſters, or the neglect of thoſe who had the management of the expedition, in ſuch a manner, that king James had been ſix months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons being raiſed for that ſervice, a train of artillery provided, and tranſports prepared, the duke of Schomberg, on whom king William had conferred the chief command of this armament, ſet out for Cheſter, after he had in perſon thanked the commons for the uncommon regard they had payed to his ſervices; and received aſſurances from the houſe, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of Auguſt he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrick-fergus with about ten thouſand foot and dragoons, and took poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrick-fergus, Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland.

A. C. 1689. gus, where they reſolved to make a ſtand. The duke having refreſhed his men, marched thither and inveſted the place: the ſiege was carried on till the twenty-ſixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the beſieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Iriſh garriſon, which was at Newry. During this ſiege the duke was joined by the reſt of his army from England; but, he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and ſtores from Cheſter directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Liſburne and Hilſborough, encamped at Drummore, where the proteſtants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton; thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horſe and dragoons of Inniſkillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low, damp ground, having the town and river on the ſouth, and ſurrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

The Inniſkilliners obtain a victory over the Iriſh.

His army conſiſting chiefly of new-raiſed men little inured to hardſhip, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and ſcarcity of proviſion. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he underſtood Roſene lay with about twenty thouſand men, had not he been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James having aſſembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle; but, the duke knowing they were greatly

greatly ſuperior in number of horſe, and that his own army was undiſciplined, and weakened by death and ſickneſs, reſtrained his men within the lines; and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conſpiracy was diſcovered in the Engliſh camp, hatched by ſome French papiſts, who had inſinuated themſelves into the proteſtant regiments. One of theſe, whoſe name was Du Pleſſis, had written a letter to the ambaſſador d'Avaux, promiſing to deſert with all the papiſts of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Pleſſis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty papiſts being diſcovered in the French regiments, they were ſent over to England, and from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this ſituation, the Inniſkilliners made excurſions in the neighbourhood, under the command of colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-ſeventh day of September, they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Iriſh; having killed ſeven hundred on the ſpot, and taken O Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a conſiderable booty of cattle. The duke was ſo pleaſed with their behaviour on this occaſion, that they received a very honourable teſtimony of his approbation. A. C. 1689.

Mean while the enemy took poſſeſſion of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauveur, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and proviſion. A contagious diſtemper ſtill continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and ſwept off a great number of officers and ſoldiers; ſo that in the beginning of next ſpring, not above half the number of thoſe who went over with the general remained alive. He was cenſured for his inactivity; Schomberg cenſured for his inactivity.

A.C. 1689. vity; and the king in repeated letters desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur: but, he did not think proper to run the risque of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation; from whence, at the approach of winter, he retired into quarters, in hope of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the king of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

The French worsted at Walcourt.

The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the states-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the king of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry, and twenty ships of the line; and that, provided hostilities should be committed against the states-general, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry, and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than king William dispatched the lord Churchill, whom he had

had by this time created earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the Britiſh auxiliaries in that ſervice, to the number of eleven thouſand, the greater part of which had been in the army of king James when the prince of Orange landed in England. He forthwith joined the Dutch army under the command of prince Waldec, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act againſt the French army commanded by the marechal D'Humieres, while the prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of obſervation, conſiſting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality and declare for the allies. Marechal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the ſtates at Walcourt, in the month of Auguſt; an obſtinate engagement enſued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confuſion, with the loſs of two thouſand men, and ſome pieces of artillery. The army of obſervation levelled part of the French lines on the ſide of Courtray, and raiſed contributions on the territories of the enemy. A. C. 1689.

The French were almoſt intire maſters of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates of Germany. They poſſeſſed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiſerſwaert, Philipſburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the caſtle of Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and deſtroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spires to aſhes; and demoliſhed Frankendahl, together with ſeveral other fortreſſes. Theſe conqueſts, the fruits of ſudden invaſion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the marechal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of diſtinguiſhed courage and ability. Nevertheleſs, he found it difficult to maintain his ground

Succeſs of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Patochin, Niſſa, and Widin.

A.C. 1689 ground againſt the different princes of the empire. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, inveſted Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the elector of Brandenburgh having reduced Keiſerſwaert, undertook the ſiege of Bonne, which the garriſon ſurrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their reſentment of the ſhocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, waſted, and depopulated their country. Lewis having by his intrigues in Poland, and at Conſtantinople, prevented a pacification between the emperor and the Ottoman-porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thouſand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialiſts on that ſide, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Paſſarowitz, croſſed that river, and marched in queſt of the Turkiſh army, amounting to fifty thouſand men, headed by a ſeraſkier. On the thirtieth day of Auguſt he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, forced their lines, routed them with great ſlaughter, and took poſſeſſion of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Niſſa, where their general finding them ſtill more numerous than the Imperialiſts, reſolved to make a ſtand; and encamped in a ſituation that was inacceſſible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the prince of Baden, who, after a deſperate reſiſtance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the ſpoils of the enemy, and entered Niſſa without oppoſition. There he found above three thouſand horſes, and a vaſt quantity of proviſion. Having repoſed

repoſed his army for a few days in this place, he A. C. 1689.
reſumed his march againſt the Turks, who had choſen an advantageous poſt at Widin, and ſeemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had loſt in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without heſitation; and though the Muſſulmans fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great ſlaughter. This defeat was attended with the loſs of Widin, which being ſurrendered to the victor, he diſtributed his troops in winter quarters, and returned to Vienna covered with laurels.

The French were likewiſe baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garriſon in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the duke de Villa-Hermoſa, at the head of a Spaniſh army, blocked up the place, and laid Rouſillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the ſiege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but, he was ſo hard preſſed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garriſon, diſmantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French king hoped to derive ſome conſiderable advantage from the death of pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of Auguſt. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Lewis ever ſince the affair of the franchiſes, and the ſeizure of Avignon. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction againſt the Spaniſh and Imperial intereſt. The French cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furſtemberg, repaired to Rome with a large ſum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected pope, and aſſumed the name of Alexander VIII. The duke de Chaulnes ambaſſador from France, immediately ſignified, in the name of his maſter, that Avignon ſhould be re-

Death of pope Innocent XI.

A. C. 1689. ſtored to the patrimony of the church; and Lewis renounced the franchiſes in a letter written by his own hand to the new pontiff. Alexander received theſe marks of reſpect with the warmeſt acknowledgments; but, when the ambaſſador and Furſtemberg beſought him to re-examine the election of the biſhop of Cologne, which had been the ſource of ſo much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their ſolicitations. He even confirmed the diſpenſations granted by his predeceſſor to the prince of Bavaria, who was thus impowered to take poſſeſſion of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furſtemberg retired in diſguſt to Paris, where Lewis immediately gratified him with the abbey of St. Germains.

King William becomes unpopular.

King William found it an eaſier taſk to unite the councils of Europe againſt the common enemy, than to conciliate and preſerve the affections of his own ſubjects, among whom he began viſibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were diſſatisfied with his meaſures; and a great number even of thoſe who had exerted themſelves for his elevation, had conceived a diſguſt from his perſonal deportment, which was very unſuitable to the manners and diſpoſition of the Engliſh people. Inſtead of mingling with his nobility in ſocial amuſements and familiar converſation, he maintained a diſagreeable reſerve, which had all the air of ſullen pride; he ſeldom or never ſpoke to his courtiers or attendants; he ſpent his time chiefly in the cloſet retired from all communication; or among his troops in a camp he had formed at Hounſlow; or in the exerciſe of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been preſcribed to him by phyſicians, as neceſſary to improve his conſtitution, which was naturally weak; and by practice had become ſo habitual that he could not lay it aſide.

His

His ill health co-operating with his natural averſion to ſociety, produced a peeviſhneſs which could not fail of being diſpleaſing to thoſe who were near his perſon; and this was increaſed by the diſputes in his cabinet, and the oppoſition of thoſe who were profeſſed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he reſided chiefly at Hampton-Court, and expended conſiderable ſums in beautifying and enlarging that palace; he likewiſe purchaſed the houſe at Kenſington of the earl of Nottingham; and ſuch profuſion, in the beginning of an expenſive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was adviſed by his counſellors, or his own ſagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the Engliſh humour, he now ſeemed to change his diſpoſition, and in ſome meaſure adopt the manners of his predeceſſors. In imitation of Charles II. he reſorted to the races at Newmarket; he accepted an invitation to viſit Cambridge, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members of the univerſity; he afterwards dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condeſcended ſo far as to become ſovereign-maſter of the company of grocers. A.C. 1689.

A good number of the clergy refuſe to take the oaths.

While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived againſt his perſon, the period arrived which the parliament had preſcribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy ſacrificed their benefices to their ſcruples of conſcience, and abſolutely refuſed to take oaths that were contrary to thoſe they had already ſworn in favour of their late ſovereign. Theſe were diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Nonjurors; but their number bore a very ſmall proportion to that of others, who took them with ſuch reſervations and diſtinctions as re-

A. C. 1689. dounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of thoſe who had been the warmeſt advocates for non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, made no ſcruple of renouncing their allegiance to king James, and complying with the preſent act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other ſenſe than that of a peaceable ſubmiſſion to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legiſlature itſelf had allowed the diſtinction between a king de facto and a king de jure, as they had dropped the word "rightful" when the form was under debate. They alledged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, ſo conſcience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous, and of worſe tendency, than than this practice of equivocating in the moſt ſacred of all obligations. It introduced a general diſregard of oaths, which hath been the ſource of univerſal perjury and corruption. Tho' this ſet of temporiſers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the papiſts, they all concurred in repreſenting William as an enemy to the church; as a prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly eſpouſed by limiting his favour and preferment to ſuch as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland. The preſbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannized in their turn. They were headed by the earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and ſtrong prejudices. He was choſen preſident of the parliament by the intereſt of Melvil, and oppreſſed the epiſcopalians in ſuch a manner, that the greater part of them, from reſentment, became well-wiſhers to king James. Every circumſtance of the hardſhips they underwent, was reported in England; and the earl of Clarendon, as well as the ſuſpended biſhops, circulated theſe

particulars with great aſſiduity. The oaths being rejected by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Ely, Chicheſter, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Glouceſter, they were ſuſpended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chicheſter being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, ſigned a ſolemn declaration, to which he profeſſed his adherence to the doctrine of non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, which he believed to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the church of England. After his death this paper was publiſhed, induſtriouſly circulated, and extolled by the party, as an inſpired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and ſincerity. A. C. 1689.

All the clamour that was raiſed againſt the king could not divert him from proſecuting the ſcheme of comprehenſion. He granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ten biſhops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authoriſing them to meet from from time to time in the Jeruſalem-chamber, to prepare ſuch alteration of the liturgy and the canons, and ſuch propoſals for the reformation of eccleſiaſtical courts, as might moſt conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church; and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the proteſtant ſubjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raiſed againſt this commiſſion, as an eccleſiaſtical-court illegal and dangerous. At their firſt meeting, the authority of the commiſſion was queſtioned by Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, who retired in diſguſt, and was followed by Mew of Wincheſter, and the doctors Jane and Aldrich. Theſe were averſe to any alteration of the forms and conſtitution of the church, in favour of an inſolent and obſtinate party, which ought to have been ſatisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They obſerved, that an attempt to make ſuch alte- The king grants a commiſſion for reforming church diſcipline.

A.C. 1689. ration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into diſeſteem with the people, at it would be a plain acknowledgment that it wanted correction. They thought they ſhould violate the dignity of the church, by condeſcending to make offers which the diſſenters were at liberty to refuſe; and they ſuſpected ſome of their colleagues of a deſign to give up epiſcopal ordination; a ſtep inconſiſtent with their honour, duty, oaths, and ſubſcriptions.

Meeting of the convocation.

The commiſſioners, notwithſtanding this ſeceſſion, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuſes of which the diſſenters had complained, and corrected every article that ſeemed liable to any juſt objection: but the oppoſite party employed all their art and induſtry to enflame the minds of the people: the two univerſities declared againſt all alterations, and thoſe who promoted them: the king himſelf was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they beſtirred themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully in the election of members for the convocation, that they procured a very conſiderable majority. At their firſt meeting, the friends of the comprehenſion ſcheme propoſed Dr. Tillotſon clerk of the cloſet to his majeſty as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the moſt violent churchman in the whole aſſembly. In a Latin ſpeech to the biſhop of London as preſident, he, in the name of the lower houſe, aſſerted, that the liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, "Nolumus leges Angliæ "mutari." We will not ſuffer the laws of England to be changed. The biſhop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulence, towards their brethren the diſſenters; and to make ſuch abatements in things indifferent as might ſerve to open a door of ſalvation to multitudes of ſtraying chriſtians.

christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The lower house seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition; and next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission by which they were to act was defective, for want of being sealed; and that a prorogation was necessary, until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval, means were used to mollify their noncompliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice; to consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed; he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage, of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England. A. C. 1689.

The bishops adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty, which being sent to the lower house for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed, a conference ensued, and, after warm debates, they agreed upan a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the lower house, far from taking any measures in favour of dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss. Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations.

A.C. 1689. Yet, rather than proceed upon the buſineſs for which they had been aſſembled, they began to take cognizance of ſome pamphlets lately publiſhed, which they conceived to be of dangerous conſequence to the chriſtian religion. The preſident and his party perceiving the diſpoſition of the houſe, did not think proper to communicate any propoſal touching the intended reformation; and the king ſuffered the ſeſſion to be diſcontinued by repeated prorogations.

Proceedings in parliament.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a ſpeech of his own compoſing, explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war; deſired that they might be ſpeedy in their determinations on this ſubject; for theſe would in a great meaſure influence the deliberations of the princes and ſtates concerned in the war againſt France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to ſettle the operations of the enſuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his ſubjects might be quieted; and that they might unanimouſly concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As ſeveral inflammatory bills and diſputes, which had produced heats and animoſities in the laſt ſeſſion, were ſtill depending, the king, after having conſulted both houſes, reſolved to put an end to thoſe diſputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the houſe of lords, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-firſt day of October, by the mouth of the new ſpeaker Sir Robert Atkins, the marquis of Hallifax having reſigned that office. When they reaſſembled, the king referred them to his former ſpeech; then the commons unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous

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profecution of the war againſt France: for theſe purpoſes they voted a ſupply of two millions. A.C. 1689.

During this ſeſſion the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obſtructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the oppoſite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the proſecution of the ſtate-priſoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge againſt Burton and Graham. The commons reſolved to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Saliſbury, and Caſtlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high treaſon, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in to declare the eſtate of the late lord chancellor Jeffries forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with ſuch oppoſition that the meaſure was dropped: the houſe however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by thoſe perſons who had exerciſed offices contrary to the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, ſhould be ſpeedily levied, and applied to the public ſervice. The lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correſpondence with king James and his partiſans, was committed to the Tower; but as no other evidence appeared againſt him than written letters, found in the falſe bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help conſenting to his being releaſed upon bail, as they had lately reſolved that Algernoon Sidney had been unjuſtly condemned, becauſe nothing but writings had been produced againſt him at his trial. The two houſes concurred in appointing a committee to enquire who were adviſers and proſecutors in taking away the lives of lord Ruſſel, colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, alderman Corniſh, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary prac-

The Whigs obſtruct the bill of indemnity.

A.C. 1689. practices touching the writs of Quo Warranto, and the ſurrender of charters. This inquiry was levelled at the marquis of Hallifax, who had concurred with the miniſtry of Charles in all thoſe ſeverities; and, though no proof appeared upon which votes or addreſſes could be founded, that nobleman ſaw it was neceſſary for him to withdraw himſelf from the adminiſtration. He therefore reſigned the privy-ſeal, which was put in commiſſion, and reconciled himſelf to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

The commons reſume the inquiry into the cauſe of the miſcarriages in Ireland.

The commons likewiſe reſumed the examination of the miſcarriages in Ireland; and deſired the king would appoint commiſſioners to go over and enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg underſtanding that he had been blamed in the houſe of commons for his inactivity, tranſmitted to the king a ſatisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miſcarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The commons immediately preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that Shales might be taken into cuſtody; that all his papers, accounts, and ſtores, ſhould be ſecured; and that duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to underſtand, that he had already ſent orders to the general for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, they in another petition requeſted his majeſty to name thoſe who had recommended Shales to his ſervice, as he had exerciſed the ſame office under king James, and was ſuſpected of treaſonable practices againſt the government. William declined gratifying their requeſt; but he afterwards ſent a meſſage to the houſe, deſiring them to recommend a certain number of commiſſioners to ſuperintend ſuch proviſions and preparations as might be neceſſary for that ſervice;

SAVILE Marquis of *HALLIFAX*.

vice; as well as to nominate certain perſons to A. C. 1689.
go over and examine the ſtate of the army in Ireland. The commons were ſo mollified by this inſtance of his condeſcenſion, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of miſconduct. Inſtances of miſmanagement appeared ſo numerous and ſo flagrant, that they reſolved upon a ſubſequent addreſs, to explain the ill conduct and ſucceſs of his army and navy; to deſire he would find out the authors of theſe miſcarriages, and for the future entruſt unſuſpected perſons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of having furniſhed the navy with unwholeſome proviſions, and new commiſſioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out againſt the miniſtry; Mr. Hambden expreſſed his ſurprize that the adminiſtration ſhould conſiſt of thoſe very perſons whom king James had employed when his affairs were deſperate, to treat with the prince of Orange; and moved that the king ſhould be petitioned in an addreſs to remove ſuch perſons from his preſence and councils. This was a ſtroke aimed at the earl of Nottingham, whoſe office of ſecretary Hambden deſired to poſſeſs: but his motion was not ſeconded, the court-members obſerving that James did not depute thoſe lords to the prince of Orange becauſe they were attached to his own intereſt, but for a very different reaſon, namely, that they were well known to diſapprove of his meaſures; and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highneſs. The houſe, however, voted an addreſs to the king, deſiring that the authors of the miſcarriages might be brought to condign puniſhment.

In the ſequel, the queſtion was propoſed, Whether a placeman ought to have a ſeat in the houſe? And

A. C. 1689. And a very warm debate enſued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the ſuppoſition that by ſuch excluſion the commonwealth would be deprived of ſome of the ableſt ſenators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William againſt the Whigs, was their backwardneſs in promoting the public ſervice; and their diſregard of the earneſt deſire he expreſſed to ſee his revenue ſettled for life. He ſaid his title was no more than a pageant; and the worſt of all governments was that of a king without treaſure. Nevertheleſs, they would not grant the civil liſt for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was ſomething arbitrary in his diſpoſition. His ſullen behaviour in all probability firſt infuſed this opinion, which was ſtrengthened and confirmed by the inſinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the ſame notion. One Simpſon, a preſbyterian of that country, whom the earl of Portland employed as a ſpy, had inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partiſan, and agent of king James; by which means he ſupplied the earl with ſuch intelligence as raiſed him to ſome degree of credit with that miniſter. This he uſed in prepoſſeſſing the earl againſt the king's beſt friends, and infuſing jealouſies which were ſoon kindled into mutual diſtruſt and animoſity.

King William irritated againſt the Whigs.

Plot againſt the government by Sir James Montgomery, diſcovered by biſhop Burnet.

Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the revolution, received advice that the court ſuſpected him and others of diſaffection, and was employed in ſeeking evidence by which they might be proſecuted. They were equally alarmed and incenſed at this intimation, and Payne ſeized the opportunity of ſeducing them into a correſpondence with the exiled king. They demanded the ſettlement of preſbytery in Scotland, and

and actually engaged in a treaty for his reſtoration. A. C. 1689.
They reconciled themſelves to the duke of Queenſberry, and the other noblemen of the epiſcopal party: they wrote to James for a ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thouſand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great intereſt among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them againſt the king and the miniſtry. He repreſented them as a ſet of wicked men, who employed infamous ſpies to inſnare and ruin the faſt friends of the government; and found means to alienate them ſo much from William, that they began to think in earneſt of recalling their baniſhed prince. The duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth were almoſt perſuaded into a conſpiracy for this purpoſe: they ſeemed to think James was now ſo well convinced of his former errors, that they might truſt him without ſcruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the ſcheme; and they admitted Ferguſon into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treaſon. In order to blaſt William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, ſeparate himſelf entirely from the French intereſt, and be contented with a ſecret connivance in favour of the Roman catholics. Montgomery's brother aſſured the biſhop of Saliſbury, that a treaty with king James was abſolutely concluded, and an invitation ſubſcribed by the whole cabal. He ſaid this paper would be ſent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he propoſed a method for ſeizing it before it ſhould be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamſon, the ſuppoſed bearer of it, had obtained a paſs for Flanders; and a meſſenger being ſent in purſuit of him, ſecured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, after a very ſtrict examination, nothing appeared

A. C. 1689. appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety at France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the bishop, and dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspiraters loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry, and the king on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

Warm debates in parliament about the corporation-bill.

The Tories still continued to carry on a secret negotiation with the court. They took advantage of the ill humour subsisting between the king and the Whigs; and promised large supplies of money, provided this parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party being apprised of their intention, brought a bill into the house of commons for restoring corporations to their antient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations; and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable in the house, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Lord chief justice Holt, and two other judges declared their opinion

nion in the affirmative: the reſt thought otherwiſe, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the abbies were ſurrendered; and this inſtance ſeemed too violent to authoriſe ſuch a meaſure in a regular courſe of adminiſtration. The bill, however, paſſed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the king, who found himſelf ſo perplexed and diſtracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he reſolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this deſign to the marquis of Carmaerthen, the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome other noblemen, who preſſed him to lay aſide this reſolution, and even mingled tears in their remonſtrances. A. C. 1689.

He at length complied with their requeſt, and determined to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon. This deſign was far from being agreeable to the parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak conſtitution. The well-wiſhers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard preſſed, ſhould William take the field againſt him in perſon: both houſes therefore began to prepare an addreſs againſt this expedition. In order to prevent this remonſtrance, the king went to the parliament, and formally ſignified his reſolution. After his ſpeech they were prorogued to the ſecond day of April. On the ſixth day of February they were diſſolved by proclamation, and a new parliament was ſummoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this ſeſſion, the commons, in an addreſs to the king, deſired that a revenue of fifty thouſand pounds might be ſettled upon the prince and princeſs of Denmark, out of the civil liſt; and his majeſty gratified them in this particular; though the

The king reſolves to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon.

A. C. 1689. the warmth and induſtry with which the friends of the princeſs exerted themſelves in promoting the ſettlement, produced a coldneſs and miſunderſtanding between the two ſiſters; and the ſubſequent diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occaſion. She was lady of the bed-chamber, and chief confident to the princeſs, whom ſhe ſtrenuouſly adviſed to inſiſt upon the ſettlement, rather than depend upon the generoſity of the king and queen.

General Ludlow arrives in England; but is obliged to withdraw.

About this period, general Ludlow, who at the reſtoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of thoſe who ſat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his ſervice in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conſcientious man, and a good officer. He had received ſome encouragement to come over, and probably would have been employed, had not the commons interpoſed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an eſtate in Wiltſhire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his poſſeſſion. He obſerved in the houſe, that the nation would be diſgraced, ſhould one of the regicides be ſuffered to live in the kingdom. An addreſs was immediately preſented to the king, deſiring a proclamation might be iſſued, promiſing a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly publiſhed; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Swiſſerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland.

While king William fluctuated between two parties in England, his intereſt in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original

LUDLOW.

ginal Jacobites, and Montgomery's party of dis- A. C. 1689.
contented presbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of the late king's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with cloaths, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was colonel Buchan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malcontents; but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone, while major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the isle of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged; some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with king James;

A. C. 1689. made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negotiations; in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

The court-interest triumphs over all opposition in that country.

The earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted something of the plot to Melvil, and solicited a pass from the queen, which was refused. Anandale having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himself upon the queen's mercy, and discovered all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malcontents in England, they remained secure from his evidence; but, he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now resided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the torture, which he resolutely bore without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, soliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country, and chose to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This disunion of the conspirators and discovery of the plot, left the earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to secure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic presbyterians, contrary to the intention of king William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money; and a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and parliament, declaring

William

William and Mary their lawful ſovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of king James. All the laws in favour of epiſcopacy were repealed. Threeſcore of the preſbyterian miniſters, who had been ejected at the reſtoration, were ſtill alive; and theſe the parliament declared the only ſound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their hands; and they were impowered to admit ſuch as they ſhould think proper to their aſſiſtance. A few furious fanatics being thus aſſociated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to perſecute the epiſcopal party, exerciſing the very ſame tyranny againſt which they themſelves had ſo loudly exclaimed. A. C. 1689.

While the preſbyterian intereſt thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The king ſeemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the lieutenancy of London at the king's acceſſion to the crown; and now a conſiderable number of the moſt violent Tories in the city was admitted into the commiſſion by the intereſt and addreſs of the biſhop of London, the marquis of Carmaerthen, and the earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the earls of Monmouth and Warrington were diſmiſſed from their employments; nay, when the parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the commons choſe for their ſpeaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partiſan of that faction, who had been created maſter of the rolls by the late king. He was a bold artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the court provided he ſhould be ſupplied with the neceſſary ſums for the purpoſes of corruption. William finding there was no other

The Tory intereſt prevails in the new parliament of England.

Burnet. Relcarres. Kennet. Tindal. Ralph.

A. C. 1690. way of maintaining his adminiſtration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practices of purchaſing votes, and appointed Trevor firſt commiſſioner of the great ſeal. In his ſpeech to the new parliament, he gave them to underſtand, that he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland. He deſired they would make a ſettlement of the revenue, or eſtabliſh it for the preſent, as a fund of credit, upon which the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the government might be immediately advanced: he ſignified his intention of ſending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifeſt his readineſs to extend his protection to all his ſubjects; and leave no colour of excuſe for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, as he knew how buſy ſome ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the eſtabliſhed government: he recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe: he told them he ſhould leave the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen; and deſired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to diſpatch the buſineſs for which they were aſſembled; to avoid debates; and expreſſed his hope that they ſhould ſoon meet again to finiſh what might be now left imperfect.

Bill for recognizing their majeſties.

The commons, in compliance with his requeſt, voted a ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, one million of that ſum to be raiſed by a clauſe of credit in the revenue-bills; but, he could not prevail upon them to ſettle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary exciſe for that term; but the cuſtoms for four years only. They conſidered this ſhort term as the beſt ſecurity the kingdom could have for frequent parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their ſovereign. A poll-bill was likewiſe paſſed;

other

other supplies were granted; and both parties seemed to court his majesty by advancing money on those fund of credit. The Whigs however had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the upper house, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms; and for declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs lost their majority on the report: nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words, in consequence of a nervous spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delemare, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it would preponderate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the house of commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made that it might be committed for amendment; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of their faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers the Solicitor-general, who observed, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths A. C. 1690.

A. C. 1690. enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treaſon: the laws repealed by it were ſtill in force; it was their duty therefore to return to king James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament, were highly criminal. The Tories were ſo ſtruck with theſe arguments, that the bill paſſed without further oppoſition, and immediately received the royal aſſent. Thus the ſettlement was confirmed by thoſe very people who had ſo loudly exclaimed againſt it as illegal: but the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been intereſted in the diſpute.

Another violent conteſt about the bill of abjuration.

There was another violent conteſt between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all ſubjects in office to abjure king James, on pain of impriſonment. Though the clergy were at firſt exempted from this teſt, the main body of the Tories oppoſed it with great vehemence, while the Whigs, under the countenance of the miniſtry, ſupported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions ſeemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories repreſented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be loſt in fruitleſs altercation: that thoſe who declared againſt the bill would grow ſullen and intractable, ſo as to oppoſe every other motion that might be made for the king's ſervice: that, in caſe of its being carried, his majeſty muſt fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices againſt the prerogative; and many individuals, who are now either well affected to him, or at leaſt neutral, would become Jacobites from reſentment. Theſe ſuggeſtions had ſuch weight with king William, that he ſent an intimation to the commons, deſiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more preſſing. The Whigs in general were diſguſted

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at this interpoſition; and the earl of Shrewſbury, who had intereſted himſelf warmly in behalf of the bill, reſented it ſo deeply, that he inſiſted on reſigning his office of ſecretary of ſtate. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotſon and others, who were ſuppoſed to have credit with the earl, to diſſuade him from quitting his employment; but, he continued deaf to all their remonſtrances, and would not even comply with the requeſt of his majeſty, who preſſed him to keep the ſeals until he ſhould return from Ireland. Long debates were likewiſe managed in the houſe of lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of ſpecial fidelity to William, in oppoſition to James. The Tories profeſſed themſelves willing to enter into a negative engagement againſt the late king and his adherents; but they oppoſed the oath of abjuration with all their might; and the houſe was ſo equally divided that neither ſide was willing to hazard a deciſion: ſo that all the fruits of their debates was a prolongation of the ſeſſion. A.C. 1690.

An act was prepared for inveſting the queen with the adminiſtration during the king's abſence; another for reverſing the judgment on a Quo Warranto againſt the city of London, and reſtoring it to its antient rights and privileges; and at length the bill of indemnity ſo cordially recommended by the king, paſſed both houſes †. On King William lands in Ireland.

† The following perſons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, marquis of Powis; Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon; Robert, earl of Sunderland; John earl of Melfort: Roger, earl of Caſtlemain; Nathaniel, lord-biſhop of Durham; Thomas, lord-biſhop of St. David's; Henry lord Dover; lord Thomas Howard, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndeſley, colonel Townly, colonel Lunday, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George lord Jeffries deceaſed.

A. C. 1690. the twenty-first day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; then the parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a further security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorised to raise the militia, in case of necessity. All papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode: a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons; Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction: on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wurtemberg, major-general Kirke, and other officers. By this time colonel Wolesey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle, and that of Charlemont; a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head quarters at Lisburne; and advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did

did not come to Ireland to let the grafs grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, where he found it amounted to fix and thirty thoufand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had juft abandoned. A. C. 1690.

King James trufted fo much to the difputes in the Englifh parliament, that he did not believe his fon-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and he had been fix days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no fooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Lutterel, and with a reinforcement of fix thoufand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the reft of his forces, which now almoft equalled William's army in number, excluflve of about fifteen thoufand men who remained in different garrifons. He occupied a very advantageous poft on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, refolved to ftand battle. They propofed to ftrengthen their garrifons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at fea. Lewis had promifed to equip a powerful armament againft the Englifh fleet, and fend over a great number of fmall frigates to deftroy William's tranfports, as foon as their convoy fhould be returned to England. The execution of this fcheme was not at all difficult, and muft have proved fatal to the Englifh army; for their ftores and ammunition were ftill on board; the fhips failed along the coaft as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one fecure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expreffed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Befides the river, which was deep, his front was fecured by

King James marches to the Boyne.

A. C. 1690. by a morass and a rising ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

William resolves to give him battle.

King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy had purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his cloaths and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. Their whole camp resounded with acclamations; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin, from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line, to shew himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined that early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglass, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at

at Slane-bridge; while the main body of foot A. C. 1690.
ſhould force their paſſage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke perceiving his advice was not reliſhed by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of diſcontent, ſaying, it was the firſt that had ever been ſent him in that manner. The proper diſpoſitions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given order for the ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

At ſix o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, Battle of the Boyne.
with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and paſſed the river with very little oppoſition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, with a moraſs in their front; ſo that Douglaſs was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry were led on the charge through the moraſs, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting the aſſault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with ſome precipitation; yet not ſo faſt, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did conſiderable execution. King James, however, ſoon reinforced his left wing from the center; and the count was in his turn obliged to ſend for aſſiſtance. At this juncture, king William's main body, conſiſting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and ſome battalions of Engliſh, paſſed the river, which was waiſt high, under a general diſcharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other

ſide;

A. C. 1690. ſide; but, he had poſted a ſtrong body of muſqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houſes, and ſome works raiſed for the occaſion. They poured in a cloſe fire upon the Engliſh troops before they reached the ſhore; but it produced very little effect: then the Iriſh gave way; and ſome battalions landed without farther oppoſition. Yet before they could form, they were charged with great impetuoſity by a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe; and a conſiderable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind ſome little hillocks, to attack thoſe that were landed, as well as to prevent the reſt from reaching the ſhore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but, the horſe charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, ſo as to put the unformed regiments in confuſion. Then the duke of Schomberg paſſing the river in perſon, put himſelf at the head of the French proteſtants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen, (ſaid he) thoſe are your perſecu-"tors;" with theſe words he advanced to the attack, where he himſelf ſuſtained a violent onſet from a party of the Iriſh horſe which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were miſtaken for Engliſh, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two ſevere wounds in the head; but, the French regiments being now ſenſible of their miſtake, raſhly threw in their fire upon the Iriſh while they were engaged with the duke; and inſtead of ſaving, ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the Engliſh army, which was immediately involved in tumult and diſorder; while the infantry of king James rallied and returned to their poſts with a face of reſolution. They were juſt ready to fall upon the center, when king William having paſſed with the

left

left wing, compoſed of the Daniſh, Dutch, and Inniſkillin horſe, advanced to attack them on the right. They were ſtruck with ſuch a panic at his appearance, that they made a ſudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made ſuch a vigorous ſtand, that the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon, recoiled. Even the Inniſkilliners gave way; and that whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Leviſon, diſmounted, and lined the hedges on each ſide of the defile, through which the fugitives were driven. There they did ſuch execution upon the purſuers as ſoon checked their ardour. The horſe which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action general Hamilton, who had been the life and ſoul of the Iriſh during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken; an incident which diſcouraged them to ſuch a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had loſt. He was immediately brought to the king, who aſked him if he thought the Iriſh would make any further reſiſtance? and he replied, "Upon my honour I "believe they will; for they have ſtill a good "body of horſe intire." William eying him with a look of diſdain, repeated, "Your honour! your "honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promiſe of perſuading Tyrconnel to ſubmit to the new government. The Iriſh now abandoned the field with precipitation; but, the French and Swiſs troops that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for ſome time with intrepidity and perſeverance. As A.C. 1690.

A. C. 1690. king William did not think proper to purſue the enemy, the carnage was not great.

Death and character of Schomberg.

The Iriſh loſt about fifteen hundred men, and the Engliſh about one third of that number; tho' the victory was dearly purchaſed, conſidering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, after having rivalled the beſt generals of the age in military reputation. He was deſcended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Engliſhwoman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a ſoldier of fortune, and ſerved ſucceſſively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He attained to the dignities of marechal in France, grandee in Portugal, generaliſſimo in Pruſſia, and duke in England. He profeſſed the proteſtant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment, cool, penetrating, reſolute, and ſagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewiſe proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the proteſtant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four ſoldiers; and though almoſt in the agonies of death, he with a chearful countenance encouraged thoſe who were croſſing to do their duty, exclaiming "A la gloire mes enfans; a la gloire! To glory, "my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable perſon who loſt his life on this occaſion, was Walker the clergyman, who had ſo valiantly defended Londonderry againſt the whole army of king James. He had been very graciouſly received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thouſand pounds, and a promiſe of further favour; but his military genius ſtill predominating, he attended his royal

DUKE SCHOMBERG.

royal patron in this battle; and being ſhot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The perſons of diſtinction who fell on the other ſide, were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O Neile, and the marquis of Hocquencourt. James himſelf ſtood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, ſurrounded with ſome ſquadrons of horſe; and ſeeing victory declare againſt him, retired to Dublin, without having made the leaſt effort to reaſſemble his broken forces. Had he poſſeſſed either ſpirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garriſons, ſo as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offenſive; for his loſs was inconſiderable, and the victor did not attempt to moleſt his troops in their retreat; an omiſſion which has been charged upon him as a flagrant inſtance of miſconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, his perſonal courage was much more conſpicuous than his military ſkill. A. C. 1690.

King James no ſooner arrived at Dublin, then he aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, and in a ſhort ſpeech reſigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Iriſh; ſignified his reſolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbad them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and aſſured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never ceaſe to labour for their deliverance. Next day he ſet out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a veſſel which had been prepared for his reception. At ſea he fell in with the French ſquadron, commanded by the ſieur de Foran, who perſuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime ſailor. In this he was ſafely James embarks for France.

A. C. 1690. safely conveyed to France; and returned to the place of his former reſidence at St. Germain's. He had no ſooner quitted Dublin, than it was alſo abandoned by all the papiſts. The proteſtants immediately took poſſeſſion of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the adminiſtration; and an account of theſe tranſactions was tranſmitted to king William, together with a petition that he would honour the city with his preſence.

William enters Dublin, and publiſhes his declaration.

On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William ſent a detachment of horſe and foot, under the command of Mr. Melionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which ſurrendered the place without oppoſition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the firſt night at Bally-Breghan, where having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he ſent the duke of Ormond, with a body of horſe, to take poſſeſſion. Theſe were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who ſecured the caſtle. In a few days the king encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was viſited by the biſhops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the proteſtant clergy, whom he aſſured of his favour and protection. Then he publiſhed a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had ſerved againſt him, provided they ſhould return to their dwellings, and ſurrender their arms by the firſt day of Auguſt. Thoſe that rented lands of popiſh proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they ſhould have notice from the commiſſioners of the revenue, to whom they might be paid. The deſperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authoriſed the depreda-

dations

dations which had been committed upon proteſtants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's firſt proclamation, were left to the event of war, unleſs by evident demonſtrations of repentance they ſhould deſerve mercy, which would never be refuſed to thoſe that were truly penitent. The next ſtep taken by king William, was to iſſue a proclamation, reducing the braſs money to nearly its intrinſic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having ſeen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to proſecute the war as long as they could be ſupplied with means to ſupport their operations. A. C. 1690.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen, as regent, found herſelf ſurrounded with numberleſs cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was diſtracted between her apprehenſions for her father's ſafety and her huſband's life: ſhe was threatened with an invaſion by the French from abroad, and with an inſurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheleſs, ſhe diſguiſed her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to ſail from Breſt, lord Torrington hoiſted his flag in the Downs, and ſailed round to St. Helen's, in order to aſſemble ſuch a number of ſhips as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being diſcovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the Engliſh admiral, reinforced with a Dutch ſquadron, put to ſea with a view to intercept them at the back of the iſle of Wight, ſhould they preſume to ſail up the channel. Not that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with them in battle; for their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-eight ſhips of war, and two and twenty fireſhips; whereas the combined ſquadrons of Eng-

The French obtain a victory over the Engliſh and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head.

A. C. 1690. land and Holland did not exceed ſix and fifty; but, he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any proſpect of ſucceſs. After the hoſtile fleets had continued five days in ſight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June at day-break. The Dutch ſquadron which compoſed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; in about half an hour the blue diviſion of the Engliſh were cloſe engaged with the rear of the French; but the red, which formed the center, under the command of Torrington in perſon, did not fill the line till ten o'clock; ſo that the Dutch were almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy; and though they fought with great valour, ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length, the admiral's diviſion drove between them and the French; and in that ſituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that he thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle: he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eaſtward. The next day the diſabled ſhips were deſtroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were purſued as far as Rye; and an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns being ſtranded near Winchelſea, was ſet on fire, and deſerted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns met with the ſame accident, and ſome French frigates attempted to burn her; but, the captain defended her ſo vigorouſly, that they were obliged to deſiſt; and he afterwards found means to carry her ſafe to Holland. In this engagement the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two ſea-captains, and about four hundred men; but, the Dutch were more unfortunate. Six of their great ſhips were deſtroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-

rear-admirals, were ſlain, together with a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and having taken precautions againſt any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with conſternation. A. C. 1690.

The government was infected with the ſame panic. The miniſtry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. Theſe inſinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to juſtify, in the opinion of the public, the meaſures that were deemed neceſſary at this juncture; and they produced the deſired effect. The apprehenſions thus artfully raiſed among the people, inflamed their averſion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addreſſes were preſented to the queen, by the Corniſh tinners, the lieutenancy of Middleſex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with profeſſions of loyalty, and promiſes of ſupporting their majeſties, as their lawful ſovereigns, againſt all oppoſition. The queen, at this criſis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and diſcretion. She iſſued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a poſture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: ſhe took meaſures for appeaſing the reſentment of the States-general, who exclaimed againſt the earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the Tower; and commiſſioners were appointed to examine the particular circumſtances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French ſeemed to threaten a de- Torrington committed priſoner to the Tower.

A. C. 1690 ſcent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a ſmall village called Tinmouth. About a thouſand of their men landed without oppoſition, ſet fire to the place, and burned a few coaſting veſſels: then they reimbarked, and returned to Breſt; ſo vain of this atchievement, that they publiſhed a pompous account of their invaſion. Some of the Whig partiſans publiſhed pamphlets, and diffuſed reports, implying, that the ſuſpended biſhops were concerned in the conſpiracy againſt the government; and theſe arts proved ſo inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it neceſſary to print a paper, in which they aſſerted their innocence in the moſt ſolemn proteſtations. The court ſeems to have harboured no ſuſpicion againſt them; otherwiſe they would not have eſcaped impriſonment, when the queen publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Ayleſbury, and Caſtlemain, viſcount Preſton, the lords Montgomery and Bellaſis, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and ſome other officers, accuſed of having conſpired with other diſaffected perſons, to diſturb and deſtroy the government; and of a deſign to concur with her majeſty's enemies in the intended invaſion. The earl of Torrington continued a priſoner in the Tower till next ſeſſion, when he was brought into the houſe of commons; and made a ſpeech in his own defence. His caſe produced long debates in the upper houſe, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length, he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had paſſed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral veſted in thoſe commiſſioners. The preſident of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the

the blue, in the engagement. The earl was acquitted: but, the king diſmiſſed him from the ſervice; and the Dutch exclaimed againſt the partiality of his judges. A.C. 1690.

William is ſaid to have taken all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the deſign projected by the French to burn the Engliſh tranſports, but likewiſe the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to aſſaſſinate king William. No ſuch attempt, however, was made; and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached general Douglas with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot towards Athlone; while he himſelf, having left Trelawny to command at Dublin, advanced with the reſt of his army to Inchequin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for king James, being ſummoned to ſurrender, fired a piſtol at the trumpeter, ſaying, "Theſe are my terms." Then Douglas reſolved to undertake the ſiege of the place, which was naturally very ſtrong, and defended by a reſolute garriſon. An inconſiderable breach was made, when Douglas receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the beſieged, abandoned the enterprize, after having loſt above four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the weſtward; and, by dint of ſevere examples, eſtabliſhed ſuch order and diſcipline in his army, that the peaſants were ſecure from the leaſt violence. At Carlow he detached the duke of Ormond to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own caſtle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, major-general Kirke was ſent to Waterford, Progreſs of William in Ireland.

A. C. 1690. the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the lord Dover and the lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the king's mercy and protection.

He invests Limerick, but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England.

On the first day of August, William being at Chapel Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests; and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch, were circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The king had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick, in which monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the king having called in his detachments, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town, which his majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, colonel Sarsfield, with a body

body of horſe and dragoons, paſſed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, diſabled the cannon, deſtroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in ſafety to Limerick. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the trenches were opened on the ſeventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raiſed with ſome cannon brought from Waterford. The ſiege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great reſolution. At length the king ordered his troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterſcarp, which was accordingly aſſaulted with great fury: but the aſſailants met with ſuch a warm reception from the beſieged, that they were repulſed with the loſs of twelve hundred men, either killed on the ſpot or mortally wounded. This diſappointment concurring with the badneſs of the weather, which became rainy and unwholſome, induced the king to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being ſent away, the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. William having conſtituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningſby lords juſtices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon, with prince George of Denmark, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in King's-road, near Briſtol, from whence he repaired to Windſor. A. C. 1690.

Cork and Kinſale reduced by the earl of Marlborough.

About the latter end of this month, the earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland with five thouſand Engliſh troops, to attack Cork and Kinſale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a ſcheme he had propoſed to king William. Having landed his ſoldiers, without much oppoſition, in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thouſand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl a diſ-

A. C. 1690. pute arose about the command: but this was compromised by the interposition of La Mellionere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut the governor demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged: but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault, the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the governor and colonel Ricaut, the victor found the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale; and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The earl of Marlborough having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland.

During these transactions, count de Lauzun commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation

tion to the court of France, that tranſports were ſent over to bring home the French forces. In theſe he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Iriſh forces devolved to the duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to Mr. St. Ruth. Lauzun was diſgraced at Verſailles, for having deſerted the cauſe before it was deſperate; and Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, ſolicited the French court for a further ſupply of officers, arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Iriſh army, which he ſaid would continue firm to the intereſt of king James, if thus ſupported. Mean while, they formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparies; while the troops of king William either enjoyed their eaſe in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; ſo that, between both, the poor people were miſerably harraſſed. A.C. 1690.

The duke of Savoy joins the confederacy.

The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the emperor and the king of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no ſooner declared himſelf, than Catinat the French general entered his territories at the head of eighteen thouſand men, defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately ſurrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with ſeveral other places, purſued the duke to Carignan, ſurpriſed Suza, and diſtributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the dutchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The duke finding himſelf diſappointed in the ſuccours he expected from the emperor and king of Spain, de-

A. C. 1690. demanded assistance from the States-general and king William, to whom he sent an ambassador to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the states under prince Waldeck should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg in Flanders; while the elector of Brandenburg should observe the marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle: but before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers encamped betwen the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxemburg.

Prince Waldeck defeated at Flerus.

Prince Waldeck understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Flerus, and slain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number; and, after a very obstinate engagement, obliged to give way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution and success. The duke of Luxemburg owned, with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted

exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from the victory. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brandenburg; so that the confederate army amounted to five and fifty thousand men; and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxemburg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had not he been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the States-general; and, when this restriction was removed, the elector would not venture a battle. A. C. 1690.

By this time the emperor's son Joseph was by the electoral college chosen king of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsey, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French king, against whom he had formerly declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the duke's design. At his death the command of the imperial army was conferred upon the elector of Bavaria, who having joined the elector of Saxony, advanced against the dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, with a considerable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the duke of Bavaria checked

The archduke Joseph elected king of the Romans.

Death of the duke of Lorraine.

Progress of the war against the Turks.

A. C. 1690. checked his progreſs, and he acted on the defenſive during the remaining part of the campaign. The emperor was leſs fortunate in his efforts againſt the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new vizir. In the month of Auguſt, count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialiſts, near Cronſtadt in Tranſylvania; then convoking the ſtates of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their ſovereign: but his reign was of ſhort duration. Prince Lewis of Baden having taken the command of the Auſtrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced againſt Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Mean while, the grand vizir inveſted Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with ſurpriſing reſolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the beſieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful exploſion. Seventeen hundred ſoldiers of the garriſon were deſtroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown, the ditch was filled up, and ſo large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by ſquadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire ſpread from magazine to magazine, until eleven were deſtroyed; and, in the confuſion, the remaining part of the garriſon eſcaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialiſts were in poſſeſſion of Tranſylvania, and cantoned at Cronſtadt and Clauſinburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one ſide, while a body of Turks ſhould invade it on the other: theſe laſt were totally diſperſed by prince Lewis of Baden: but prince Auguſtus of Hanover, whom he had detached againſt the count, was ſlain in a narrow defile, and his troops obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being appriſed of the

the fate of his allies, and afraid of ſeeing his retreat cut off by the ſnow, that frequently choaks up the paſſes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and prince Lewis returned to Vienna. A. C. 1690.

King William having publiſhed a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the ſecond day of October, both houſes met accordingly, and he opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to the uſual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the ſupplies were not equal to the neceſſary expence; repreſented the danger to which the nation would be expoſed, unleſs the war ſhould be proſecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; aſſured them that the ſucceſs of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and diſpatch of their proceedings; expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who had been guilty of miſconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition, and declared, that whoever ſhould attempt to divert their attention from thoſe ſubjects of importance which he had propoſed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wiſher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coaſt of England, the rumours of a conſpiracy by the Jacobites, the perſonal valour which William had diſplayed in Ireland, and the puſillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the reſentment of the nation againſt the adherents of the late king, and in raiſing a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes of congratulation to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude Meeting of the parliament.

and

A. C. 1690. and ſagacity at the helm, in times of danger and diſquiet. The commons, purſuant to an eſtimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a ſupply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and ſettled the funds for that purpoſe.

The commons comply with all the king's demands.

They propoſed to raiſe one million by the ſale of forfeited eſtates in Ireland: they reſolved, that a bill ſhould be brought in for confiſcating thoſe eſtates, with a clauſe, impowering the king to beſtow a third part of them on thoſe who had ſerved in the war, as well as to grant ſuch articles and capitulations to thoſe who were in arms, as he ſhould think proper. This clauſe was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered againſt the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. Theſe were ſuppoſed to have been ſuggeſted by the court, in order to retard the progreſs of the bill; for the eſtates had been already promiſed to the king's favourites: nevertheleſs, the bill paſſed the lower houſe, and was ſent up to the lords, among whom it was purpoſely delayed by the influence of the miniſtry. It was at this juncture that lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the diſſatisfaction of the king, who not only diſmiſſed him from the ſervice, but even forbad him to appear in his preſence. When William came to the houſe of lords, to give the royal aſſent to a bill for doubling the exciſe, he told the parliament, that the poſture of affairs required his preſence at the Hague; that therefore, they ought to loſe no time in perfecting ſuch other ſupplies as were ſtill neceſſary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making ſome proviſion for the expence of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly paſſed for granting to their majeſties the duties on goods imported for five years; and theſe, together

ther with the mutiny-bill, received the royal aſſent: A.C. 1690.
upon which occaſion the king obſerved, that if ſome annual proviſion could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and ſafety of the nation. In conſequence of this hint, they voted a conſiderable ſupply for building additional ſhips of war *, and proceeded with ſuch alacrity and expedition, as even ſeemed to anticipate the king's deſires. This liberality and diſpatch were in a great meaſure owing to the management of lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treaſury, and Sir John Somers the ſollicitor-general. The place of ſecretary of ſtate, which had remained vacant ſince the reſignation of the earl of Shrewſbury, was now filled with lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the juſtices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

Notwithſtanding the act for reverſing the proceedings againſt the city charter, the Whigs had made ſhift to keep poſſeſſion of the magiſtracy: Pilkington continued mayor, and Robinſon retained the office of chamberlain. The Tories of the city preſuming upon their late ſervices, preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament for reverſing the judgment on the Quo Warranto, was fruſtrated by ſome doubtful expreſſion; ſo that the old aldermen elected by commiſſions under the late king's great ſeal, ſtill acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not

Petition of the Tories in the city of London.

* This ſupply was raiſed by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They alſo provided in the bill, that the impoſitions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, ſhould be made a fund of credit: That the ſurplus of the grants they had made, after the current ſervice was provided for, ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it ſhould be lawful for their majeſties to make uſe of five hundred thouſand pounds out of the ſaid grants, on condition of that ſum's being repaid from the revenue. Ralph.

duly

A. C. 1690. duly returned as mayor by the common hall: and, That he and the aldermen had impoſed Mr. Leonard Robinſon upon them as chamberlain, though another perſon was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the common council were illegally excluded, and others duly elected were refuſed admittance. They ſpecified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his aſſociates undertook to prove, that thoſe allegations were either falſe or frivolous; and repreſented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites, to diſturb the peace of the city, that the ſupply might be retarded, and the government diſtreſſed. In the late panic which overſpread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and ſubſcribed largely for the ſecurity of the ſettlement they had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a ſuſpicious caution. For this reaſon the court now interpoſed its influence in ſuch a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonſtrance.

Attempt againſt the marquis of Carmaerthen.

The marquis of Carmaerthen lord-preſident, who was at the head of the Tory intereſt in the miniſtry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the diſpleaſure of the oppoſite faction; and they reſolved (if poſſible) to revive his old impeachment. The earl of Shrewſbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this deſign. A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and enquire whether impeachments continued in ſtatu quo from parliament to parliament. Several ſuch precedents were reported; and violent debates enſued: but, the marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in conſequence of the following queſtion, "Whe-
"ther the earls of Saliſbury and Peterborough,
"who had been impeached in the former parlia-
"ment, for being reconciled to the church of
"Rome,

"Rome, shall be discharged from their bail?" A. C. 1690. The house resolved in the affirmative, and several lords entered a protest. The commons having finished a bill for appointing commissioners to take and state the public accounts; and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the house of lords. There the earl of Rochester moved, that they should add some of their number to those of the commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but, Rochester himself being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity, and assured them of his particular favour and protection. Then lord chief baron Atkins signified his majesty's pleasure, that the two houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March.

The king's voyage to Holland.

William having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January: but, the ship in which he propo'ed to embark, being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirk, and Zuylestein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet,

A. C. 1650. and night coming on, were expoſed in very ſevere weather to the danger of the enemy and the ſea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were drenched with ſea-water. When the ſailors expreſſed their apprehenſions of periſhing, the king aſked, if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the iſle of Goree, where he took ſome refreſhment in a fiſherman's hut; then he committed himſelf to the boat again, and was conveyed to the ſhore in the neighbourhood of Maeſlandſluys. A deputation of the ſtates received him at Hounſlardyke; and about ſix in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the ſtates-general, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, the other colleges, and the foreign miniſters. He afterwards, at the requeſt of the magiſtrates, made his public entry with ſurpriſing magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He aſſiſted at their different aſſemblies; informed them of his ſucceſſes in England and Ireland; and aſſured them of his conſtant zeal and affection for his native country.

He aſſiſts at a congreſs. Returns to England.

At a ſolemn congreſs of the confederate princes, he repreſented, in a ſet ſpeech, the dangers to which they were expoſed from the power and ambition of France; and the neceſſity of acting with vigour and diſpatch. He declared he would ſpare neither his credit, forces, nor perſon, in concurring with their meaſures; and that in the ſpring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith reſolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thouſand men againſt France in the enſuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and ſtates were regulated; and the king of England agreed to furniſh twenty thou-

thouſand. He ſupplied the duke of Savoy ſo liberally, that his affairs ſoon aſſumed a more promiſing aſpect. The plan of operations was ſettled; and they tranſacted their affairs with ſuch harmony, that no diſpute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the congreſs broke up, the ſiege of Mons was undertaken by the French king in perſon, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garriſon conſiſted of about ſix thouſand men, commanded by the prince of Bergue; but, the beſiegers carried on their works with ſuch rapidity as they could not withſtand. King William no ſooner underſtood that the place was inveſted, than he ordered prince Waldeck to aſſemble the army, determined to march againſt the enemy in perſon. Fifty thouſand men were ſoon collected at Halle, near Bruſſels; but, when he went thither he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages and other neceſſaries for the expedition. Mean while, the burghers of Mons ſeeing their town in danger of being utterly deſtroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, preſſed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the beſiegers: ſo that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William being appriſed of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April †. A.C. 1696.

A conſpiracy againſt the government had been lately diſcovered. In the latter end of December, the maſter of a veſſel who lived at Barking in Eſſex, informed the marquis of Carmaerthen, that his wife had let out one of his barks to carry over ſome perſons to France; and that they would em- Conſpiracy againſt the government by lord Preſton and others.

† A few days before his arrival, was conſumed by fire, through the great part of the palace of Whitehall negligence of a female ſervant.

A.C. 1690. bark on the thirtieth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was ſent to captain Billop, to watch the motion of the veſſel, and ſecure the paſſengers. He according boarded her at Graveſend, and found in the hold lord Preſton, Mr. Aſhton, a ſervant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewiſe ſeized a bundle of papers, ſome of which were ſcarce intelligible; and among the reſt, two letters ſuppoſed to be written by Turner biſhop of Ely to king James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king to aſſiſt king James in reaſcending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William ſhould be abſent from the kingdom: but the ſcheme was ill-layed, and countenanced but by a very few perſons of conſideration, among whom the chiefs were the earl of Clarendon, the biſhop of Ely, lord Preſton, his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn the famous quaker. Notwithſtanding the outcries which had been made againſt the ſeverities of the late government, Preſton and his accomplice Aſhton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compaſſing the death of their majeſties king William and queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preſton alledged in his defence, that the treaſons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middleſex, as laid in the indictment; that none of the witneſſes declared he had any concern in hiring the veſſel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witneſſes to every fact, whereas the whole proof againſt him reſted on ſimilitude of hands and mere ſuppoſition. He was nevertheleſs found guilty. Aſhton behaved with great intrepidity and compoſure. He owned his purpoſe of going to France, in purſuance of a promiſe he had made to general

general Worden, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; and with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him; he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody: yet there was no privity proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage, an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed suppositious *. Lord Preston obtained a

A. C. 1690.

Burnet. State tracts. Burchet. Tindal. Ralph.

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of king James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned person should be authorized to compile a treatise shewing the grounds of William's title; and in case the performance

A. C. 1690. pardon; Elliot was not tried, becauſe no evidence appeared againſt him; the earl of Clarendon was ſent to the Tower, where he remained ſome months, and he was afterwards confined to his own houſe in the country: an indulgence which he owed to his conſanguinity with the queen, who was his firſt couſin. The biſhop of Ely, Graham, and Penn abſconded; and a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending them as traitors.

The king fills up the vacant biſhoprics.

This prelate's being concerned in a conſpiracy, furniſhed the king with a plauſible pretence for filling up the vacant biſhoprics. The deprived biſhops had been given to underſtand, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuſe them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their epiſcopal functions; but, as they declined this expedient, the king reſolved to fill up

A. C. 1691. their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly the archbiſhopric of Canterbury was conferred upon doctor Tillotſon †, one of the moſt learned, moderate, and virtuous eccleſiaſtics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, becauſe he foreſaw that he ſhould be expoſed to the ſlander and malevolence of that party which eſpouſed the cauſe of his predeceſſor. The other vacant ſees were given to divines of unblemiſhed character; and the public in general ſeemed very well ſatisfied with this exertion of the king's ſupremacy. The deprived biſhops at firſt affected all the meekneſs of reſignation. They remembered thoſe ſhouts of popular approbation,

ſhould carry conviction along with it, they would ſubmit to that tie, as they had hitherto oppoſed it from a principle of conſcience. The beſt anſwer that could be made to this ſummons, was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period. Ralph.

† Beveridge was promoted to the ſee of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Glouceſter, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chicheſter, and Patrick to Ely.

by

by which they had been animated in the perſecu- A. C. 1691.
tion they ſuffered under the late government; and they hoped the ſame cordial would ſupport them in their preſent affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The preſs groaned with the efforts of their learning and reſentment; and every eſſay was anſwered by their opponents. The nonjurors affirmed that chriſtianity was a doctor of the croſs; that no pretence whatever could juſtify an inſurrection againſt the ſovereign; that the primitive chriſtians thought it their indiſpenſible duty to be paſſive under every invaſion of their rights; that non-reſiſtance was the doctrine of the Engliſh church, confirmed by all the ſanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only ſupported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the uſe that might be made of the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, in exciting freſh commotions, but they alſo argued, that if paſſive obedience was right in any inſtance, it was concluſively ſo with regard to the preſent government; for the obedience required by ſcripture was indiſcriminate, "The powers that "be, are ordained of God—let every ſoul be "ſubject to the higher powers." From theſe texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without ſcruple; and that thoſe who refuſed them, concealed party under the cloak of conſcience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonſtrated. They ſaid it levelled all diſtinctions of juſtice and duty; that thoſe who taught ſuch doctrines attached themſelves ſolely to poſſeſſion, howſoever unjuſtly acquired; that if twenty different uſurpers ſhould ſucceed one another, they would recognize the laſt, notwithſtanding the allegiance they had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to his predeceſſor, like the fawn-

A. C. 1691. ing ſpaniel that followed the thief who mounted his maſter's horſe, after having murdered the right owner. They alſo denied the juſtice of a lay-deprivation, and with reſpect to church government ſtarted the ſame diſtinctions "De jure and De facto," which they had formerly made in the civil adminiſtration. They had even recourſe to all the bitterneſs of invective againſt Tillotſon and the new biſhops, whom they reviled as intruders and uſurpers; but their acrimony was chiefly directed againſt Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the moſt violent ſticklers againſt the revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of king James from Ireland. They branded him as an apoſtate who had betrayed his cauſe, and publiſhed a review of his whole conduct, which proved a ſevere ſatire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance againſt the government: and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to ſap the foundation of the new ſettlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the intereſts of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character, inveighed againſt his meaſures; accuſed him of ſacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious compariſons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes of the laſt and of the preſent reign. To fruſtrate theſe efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to anſwer and recriminate; all ſorts of informers were encouraged and careſſed; in a proclamation iſſued againſt papiſts and other diſaffected perſons, all magiſtrates were enjoined to make ſearch and apprehend thoſe who ſhould, by ſeditious diſcourſes and libels, preſume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the profeſſed enemies of thoſe very arts and practices which had enabled

enabled them to bring their ſcheme to perfection. A. C. 1691.

Affairs of Scotland.

The preſbyterians in Scotland acted with ſuch folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The tranſactions in their general aſſembly were carried on with ſuch peeviſhneſs, partiality, and injuſtice, that the king diſſolved it by an act of ſtate, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The epiſcopal party promiſed to enter heartily into the intereſts of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and ſerve king William, provided he would balance the power of Melvill and his partiſans in ſuch a manner as would ſecure them from violence and oppreſſion; provided the epiſcopal miniſters ſhould be permitted to perform their functions among thoſe people by whom they were beloved; and that ſuch of them as were willing to mix with the preſbyterians in their judicatories, ſhould be admitted without any ſevere impoſition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely diſguſted at the preſbyterians, reliſhed the propoſal; and young Dalrymple, ſon of lord Stair, was appointed joint ſecretary of ſtate with Melvill. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the ſame time they maintained a correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which they ſubmitted to William, that they might be in a condition to ſerve James the more effectually. The Scottiſh parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the ſixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent; a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence;

to

A. C. 1691. to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the enemies of the government: and the earl of Home, w th Sir Peter Fraser and Sir Æneas Macpherson, was apprehended and imprisoned.

Campaign in Flanders.

The king having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckle exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce, left the queen as before at the helm of government in England, returned to Holland, accompanied by lord Sidney secretary of state, the earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the duke of Luxemburg having passed the Scheld at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the marquis De Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, intrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, king William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the count de Tilly with ten thousand men to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly having thus raised the siege and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented even since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburg, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxemburg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted

exhauſted his invention in marches, counter- A. C. 1691.
marches, and ſtratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marſhal avoided it with ſuch dexterity as baffled all his endeavours. In the courſe of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other; but they were ſituated in ſuch a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifeſt diſadvantage. While the king lay encamped at Court-ſur heure, a ſoldier, corrupted by the enemy, ſet fire to the fuſes of ſeveral bombs, the exploſion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confuſion in the army, had not the miſchief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery: even while the fuſes were burning they diſengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the ſide of a hill; ſo that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The perſon who made this treacherous attempt being diſcovered, owned he had been employed for this purpoſe by the duke of Luxemburg. He was tried by a court-martial, and ſuffered the death of a traitor. King William quitting Court-ſur-heuer, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, conſuming the forage and exhauſting the country. Then he paſſed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French croſſed it at La Buſierre, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, paſſed the Dender, and took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde; William followed the ſame route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuſe. While he continued in this poſt, the Heſſian forces and thoſe of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thouſand men, ſeparated from the army and paſſed the Meuſe at Namur; then

A. C. 1691. the king returned to the Hague, leaving the command to prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuſe, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxemburg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat ſo ſuddenly, that his rear was ſurpriſed and defeated, though the French were at laſt obliged to retire: the prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time the duke De Noailles beſieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French ſquadron, commanded by the count D'Etrees, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant.

Progreſs of the French in Piedmont.

The confederates had propoſed to act vigorouſly in Italy againſt the French; but the ſeaſon was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken to furniſh troops to join the duke of Savoy, and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the ſupreme command of the imperial forces in that country; the marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milaneſe, acted as truſtee for the Spaniſh monarch; duke Schomberg, lately created duke of Leinſter, managed the intereſt of William as king of England and ſtadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois payed by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progreſs in their conqueſts. Catinat made himſelf maſter of Villa-Franca, Nice, and ſome other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the marquis de Feuquieres to inveſt Coni, a ſtrong fortreſs garriſoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He ſaw almoſt all his places of ſtrength in the poſſeſſion of the enemy: Coni was

beſieged: and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the paſſes of the valley of Aoſte; ſo that he had free admiſſion into the Verceillois and the frontiers of the Milaneſe. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were diſpirited and clamorous; and their ſovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken and his palace of Rivoli deſtroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offenſive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments; and prince Eugene ſupported his remonſtrance: but this propoſal was vehemently oppoſed by the marquis de Leganez, who foreſaw that if the duke ſhould be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two and twenty hundred horſe: at Magliano he was reinforced by five thouſand militia; and Bulonde, who commanded at the ſiege, no ſooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind ſome pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, proviſions, utenſils, with all his ſick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arreſt, and afterwards caſhiered with diſgrace. Hogutte abandoned the valley of Aoſte; Feuquieres was ſent with a detachment to change the garriſon of Caſal, and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aſte. A. C. 1691.

The miſcarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois the miniſter of Lewis ſo deeply, that he could not help ſhedding tears when he communicated the event to his maſter, who told him, with great compoſure, that he was ſpoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont

Election of a new Pope.

A.C. 1691. Piedmont had a ſtill greater influence over the reſolutions of the conclave at Rome, then ſitting for the election of a new pope in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithſtanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by the cardinal D'Etrees, the affairs of Piedmont had no ſooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spaniſh and imperial intereſt, and cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He aſſumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the laſt pope, known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims againſt the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, the confederates reſolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repaſſed the Po, and ſent couriers to Verſailes to ſolicit a reinforcement. Then prince Eugene inveſted Carmagnola, and carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that in eleven days the garriſon capitulated. Mean while the marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conqueſt of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much reſiſtance. The caſtle, however, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in perſon; and, notwithſtanding all his efforts, the place held out till the ſecond day of December, when it ſurrendered on honourable conditions.

The emperor's ſucceſs againſt the Turks.

This ſummer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to ſurprize Mentz, by maintaining a correſpondence with one of the emperor's commiſſioners; but this being diſcovered, their deſign was fruſtrated. The imperial army, under the elector of Saxony, paſſed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French croſſing the ſame river at Philipſburg, reduced the town of Portzheim in the marquiſate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the ſcheme projected by the emperor for this campaign, was

was prevented by the death of his general the elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aſpect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by prince Lewis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialiſts afterwards undertook the ſiege of Great Waradin in Tranſylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not ſurrendered till the following ſpring. The Turks were ſo diſpirited by the defeat, by which they had loſt the grand vizir, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms: but his pride and ambition overſhot his ſucceſs. He was weak, inſolent, and ſuperſtitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almoſt extinguiſhed, king William, with the reſt of the allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himſelf ſhould not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he ſhould not only make an entire conqueſt of Tranſylvania, but alſo carry his victorious arms to the gates of Conſtantinople, according to ſome ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spaniſh government was become ſo feeble, that, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, it offered to deliver the whole country to king William, either as monarch of England or ſtadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, becauſe he knew the people would never be reconciled to a proteſtant government: but he propoſed that the Spaniards ſhould confer the adminiſtration of Flanders upon the elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of ſignalizing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treaſure. This propoſal was reliſhed by the court of Spain: the emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without heſitation; and he A. C. 1691.

was

A. C. 1697. was immediately declared governor of the Low-Countries by the council of ſtate at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued ſome time at the Hague, ſettling the operations of the enſuing campaign; and embarking in the Maeſe, landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

Affairs of Ireland.

Before we explain the proceedings in parliament, it will be neceſſary to give a detail of the late tranſactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the ſeaſon the French king had ſent a large ſupply of proviſion, cloaths, and ammunition, for the uſe of the Iriſh at Limerick, under the conduct of monſieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a good number of French officers, furniſhed with commiſſions from king James, though St. Ruth iſſued all his orders in the name of Lewis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January with three frigates and nine veſſels, loaded with ſuccours of the ſame nature; otherwiſe the Iriſh could not have been ſo long kept together. Nor indeed could theſe ſupplies prevent them from forming ſeparate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities. The lords juſtices, in conjunction with general Ginckle, had taken every ſtep their prudence could ſuggeſt, to quiet the diſturbances of the country, and prevent ſuch violence and rapine, of which the ſoldiers in king William's army were not intirely innocent. The juſtices had iſſued proclamations, denouncing ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould countenance or conceal ſuch acts of cruelty and oppreſſion: they promiſed to protect all papiſts who ſhould live quietly within a certain frontier line; and Ginckle gave the catholic rebels to underſtand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had

had been fought between parties; and theſe had always turned out ſo unfortunate to the enemy, that their ſpirits were quite depreſſed, while the confidence of the Engliſh roſe in the ſame proportion. A. C. 1691.

St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and general Ginckle was reinforced by Mackay, with thoſe troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. He, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garriſoned by a thouſand men under colonel Bourke, who, when ſummoned to ſurrender, returned an evaſive anſwer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the beſiegers began to make preparations for a general aſſault, his men layed down their arms, and ſubmitted at diſcretion. The fortification of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garriſon for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, ſituated on the other ſide of the Shannon, and ſupported by the Iriſh army encamped almoſt under its walls. The Engliſh town, on the hither ſide of the river, was taken ſword in hand; and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raiſed againſt the Iriſh town; and ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts were made to force the paſſage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length it was reſolved, in a council of war, that a detachment ſhould paſs at a ford, a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and ſtony, and the paſs guarded by a baſtion erected for that purpoſe. The forlorn hope conſiſted of ſixty grenadiers in armour, headed by captain Sandys, and two lieutenants. They were ſeconded by another detachment, and this was ſupported by ſix battalions of infantry. Never was a more deſperate ſervice, nor was ever exploit performed with more

General Ginckle reduces Athlone.

A. C. 1691. valour and intrepidity. They paſſed twenty abreaſt, in the face of the enemy, through an inceſſant ſhower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Thoſe who followed them took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the ſame time, that the troops might paſs in different places. The Iriſh were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that, in half an hour, it was wholly ſecured by the Engliſh, who did not loſe above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Tollemache, exhibited proofs of the moſt undaunted courage in paſſing the river; and general Ginckle, for his conduct, intrepidity, and ſucceſs on this occaſion, was created earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by expreſs, that the Engliſh had entered the river, he ſaid, it was impoſſible they ſhould pretend to take a town which he covered with his army; and that he would give a thouſand piſtols they would attempt to force a paſſage. Sarsfield inſiſted upon the truth of the intelligence, and preſſed him to ſend ſuccours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and ſome warm expoſtulation paſſed between them. Being at length convinced that the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the place, he ordered ſome detachments to drive them out again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned againſt them, they found the taſk impracticable: and that very night their their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took poſt at Aghrim, and having by draughts from garriſons augmented his army to five and twenty thouſand men, reſolved to hazard a deciſive engagement.

Defeats the Iriſh at Aghrim. Ginckle having put Athlone in a poſture of defence, paſſed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thouſand; and

and the Iriſh were poſted in a very advantageous ſituation. St. Ruth had made an admirable diſpoſition, and taken every precaution that military ſkill could ſuggeſt. His center extended along a riſing ground, uneven in many places, interſected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almoſt impaſſable. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left ſecured by the caſtle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the moſt pathetic ſtrain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of hereſy, in recovering their antient honours and eſtates, and in reſtoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural uſurper. He employed the prieſts to enforce his exhortations, to aſſure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in caſe they ſhould fall in battle, the ſaints and angels would convey their ſouls to heaven. They are ſaid to have ſworn upon the ſacrament, that they would not deſert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter ſhould be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckle had encamped on the Roſcommon ſide of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy; and, after having reconnoitred their poſture, reſolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The neceſſary orders being given, the army paſſed the river at two fords and a ſtone bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two paſſages, in order to poſſeſs the ground on the other ſide. The enemy fought with ſurpriſing fury, and the horſe were ſeveral times repulſed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of ſome field-pieces. The day was now ſo far advanced, A. C. 1691.

A. C. 1691. that the general determined to poſtpone the battle till next morning; but, perceiving ſome diſorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his reſolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At ſix o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the Engliſh advanced to the right of the Iriſh, from whom they met with ſuch a warm and obſtinate reception, that it was not without the moſt ſurpriſing efforts of courage and perſeverance, that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even that they loſt by inches. St. Ruth ſeeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached ſuccours to them from his center and left wing. Mackay no ſooner perceived them weakened by theſe detachments, than he ordered three battalions to ſkirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the center advanced through the middle of the moraſs, the men wading up to the waiſt in mud and water. After they had reached the other ſide, they found themſelves obliged to aſcend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and theſe were lined with muſqueteers, ſupported at proper intervals with ſquadrons of cavalry. They made ſuch a deſperate reſiſtance, and fought with ſuch impetuoſity, that the aſſailants were repulſed into the middle of the bog with great loſs; and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive the Engliſh to the gates of "Dublin." In this critical conjuncture, Tollemache came up with a freſh body to ſuſtain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with ſuch vigour, that the Iriſh gave way in their turn, and the Engliſh recovered the ground they had loſt, though they found it impoſſible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horſe and dragoons to the aſſiſtance of the left wing; and firſt turned the tide of battle in favour of the Engliſh. Major-general Rouvigny, who had behaved

GENERAL TOLLEMACHE.

haved with great gallantry during the whole action, A.C. 1691.
advanced with five regiments of cavalry to ſupport the center, when St. Ruth perceiving his deſign, reſolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to paſs. For this purpoſe he began to deſcend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reſerve of horſe; but in his way was killed by a cannon ball. His troops immediately halted: and his guards retreated with his body. His fate diſpirited the troops, and produced ſuch confuſion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for tho' he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth ſince the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny having paſſed the hollow way without oppoſition, charged the enemy in flank; and bore down all before him with ſurpriſing impetuoſity: the center redoubled their efforts, and puſhed the Iriſh to the top of the hill; and then their whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horſe took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were purſued by the Engliſh cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible ſlaughter. In the battle, which laſted two hours, and purſuit, above four thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and ſix hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, proviſion, ammunition, and artillery, nine and twenty pair of colours, twelve ſtandards, and almoſt all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was deciſive; and not above eight hundred of the Engliſh were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquiſhed retreated in great confuſion to Limerick, where they reſolved to make a final ſtand, in hope of receiving ſuch ſuccours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of

A. C. 1691. a broken heart, after having ſurvived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Iriſh, whom he had adviſed to ſubmit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themſelves and their families.

undertakes the ſiege of Limerick. Immediately after the battle, detachments were ſent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-caſtle, conſiderable paſſes on the Shannon, which were accordingly ſecured. Then Ginckle advanced to Galway, which he ſummoned to ſurrender; but he received a defiance from lord Dillon and general D'Uſſone, who commanded the garriſon. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town, was taken by aſſault; ſix regiments of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe, paſſed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly inveſted, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garriſon marched out with honours of war, and was allowed ſafe-conduct to Limerick. Ginckle directed his march to the ſame town, which was the only poſt of conſequence that now held out for king James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Lutterel had been ſeized by the French general D'Uſſone, and ſentenced to be ſhot for having propoſed to ſurrender, he ſent a trumpet to tell the commander, that if any perſon ſhould be put to death for ſuch a propoſal, he would make retaliation on the Iriſh priſoners. On the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt, the enemy were driven from all their advanced poſts: captain Cole, with a ſquadron of ſhips, ſailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in ſight of the town. On the twenty-ſixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: while the Iriſh army lay encamped on the other ſide

side of the river on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almoſt laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon; the guns were diſmounted, the out-forts evacuated, and ſuch other motions made as indicated a reſolution to abandon the ſiege. The enemy expreſſed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of ſhort continuance. In the night the beſiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finiſhed before morning. A conſiderable body of horſe and foot had paſſed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were ſeized with ſuch conſternation, that they threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, bagage, two pieces of cannon, and a ſtandard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and paſſes were ſecured; and the batteries continued firing inceſſantly till the twenty-ſecond day of the month, when Ginckle paſſed over with a diviſion of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them ſword in hand, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The garriſon had made a ſally from the town to ſupport them; and this detachment was driven back with ſuch precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the Engliſh would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed; two hundred taken priſoners, including many officers; and a great number was drowned in the Shannon. A.C. 1691.

A. C. 1691. Then the Engliſh made a lodgment within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Iriſh ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop ſignified their Reſolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hoſtages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides of the river. The lords-juſtices arrived in the camp on the firſt day of October; and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were ſtill in the hands of the Iriſh. The Roman catholics were reſtored to the enjoyment of ſuch liberty in the exerciſe of religion as was conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. All perſons whatever were entitled to the protection of theſe laws, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, privileges, and immunities, upon their ſubmitting to the preſent government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majeſties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain perſons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garriſon poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, who happened to be abroad, and had not bore arms ſince the declaration in the firſt year of the preſent reign, provided they ſhould return within the term of eight months. All the perſons compriſed in this and the foregoing article, were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, premunires, felonies, treſpaſſes, and other crimes and miſdemeanours whatſoever, committed ſince the beginning of the reign of James II. and the lord-juſtices promiſed to uſe their beſt endeavours towards the reverſal of ſuch attainders and outlawries as had paſſed againſt

The French and Iriſh obtain an honourable capitulation.

any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses, he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles, was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons, were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices, promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation, should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months; and use their endeavours, that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army, by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord Lucan by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of king James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckle engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their

A. C. 1691.

A. C. 1691. their officers, and to ſerve as a convoy to the fleet. It was ſtipulated, That the proviſions and forage for their ſubſiſtence ſhould be payed for on their arrival in France: and, That hoſtages ſhould be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ſhips: That all the garriſons ſhould march out of their reſpective towns and fortreſſes, with the honours of war: That the Iriſh ſhould have liberty to tranſport nine hundred horſes: and, That that thoſe who ſhould chooſe to ſtay behind, might diſpoſe of themſelves according to their own fancy, after having ſurrendered their arms to ſuch commiſſioners as the general ſhould appoint: That all priſoners of war ſhould be ſet at liberty on both ſides: That the general ſhould provide two veſſels to carry over two different perſons to France, with intimation of this treaty: and that none of thoſe who were willing to quit the kingdom, ſhould be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. This is the ſubſtance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Iriſh Roman catholics conſider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was ſurrendered to Ginckle; but both ſides agreed, that the two armies ſhould intrench themſelves, until the Iriſh ſhould embark, that no diſorder might ariſe from a communication.

Twelve thouſand Iriſh catholics are tranſported to France.

The proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland were extremely diſguſted at theſe conceſſions made in favour of vanquiſhed rebels, who had exerciſed ſuch acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, that they themſelves, who had ſuffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to ſit down with their loſſes, while their enemies, who had ſhed ſo much blood in oppoſing his government, were indemniſied by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were diſmiſſed with the honours of

war;

war; they were tranſported at the government's expence, to fight againſt the Engliſh in foreign countries: an honourable proviſion was made for the Rapparees, who were profeſſed banditti; the Roman catholic intereſt in Ireland obtained the ſanction of regal authority; attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws ſet aſide, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckle had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hoſtages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thouſand Iriſh foot and three hundred horſe, began their march for Cork, where they propoſed to take ſhipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but, three regiments refuſing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and diſperſed to their former habitations. Thoſe who remained at Limerick embarked on the ſeventh day of November, in French tranſports; and ſailed immediately to France, under convoy of a French ſquadron which had arrived in the bay of Dingle immediately after the capitulation was ſigned. Twelve thouſand men choſe to undergo exile from their native country, rather than ſubmit to the government of king William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; told them they ſhould ſtill ſerve under his commiſſion and command; and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new cloathed, and put into quarters of refreſhment. A. C. 1691.

The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, baron Ginckle returned to England, where he was ſolemnly thanked by the houſe of commons for his great ſervices, after he had been created earl of Athlone Meeting of the Engliſh parliament.

A. C. 1691. Athlone by his majeſty. When the parliament met on the twenty-ſecond day of October, the king in his ſpeech inſiſted upon the neceſſity of ſending a ſtrong fleet to ſea, early in the ſeaſon, and of maintaining a conſiderable army to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from inſult and invaſion; for which purpoſes, he ſaid, ſixty-five thouſand men would be barely ſufficient. Each houſe preſented an addreſs of congratulation upon his majeſty's ſafe return to England, and the reduction of Ireland: they promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, in proſecuting the war with France; and, at the ſame time, drew up addreſſes to the queen, acknowledging her prudent adminiſtration during his majeſty's abſence. Notwithſtanding this appearance of cordiality and complaiſance, a ſpirit of diſcontent had inſinuated itſelf into both houſes of parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

Diſcontent of the nation.

A great number of individuals who wiſhed well to their country, could not, without anxiety and reſentment, behold the intereſt of the nation ſacrificed to foreign connections, and the king's favour ſo partially beſtowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice of his Engliſh ſubjects. They obſerved, that the number of forces he demanded was conſiderably greater than that of any army which had ever been payed by the public, even when the nation was in the moſt imminent danger: that, inſtead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greateſt part of the burden, though they had the leaſt ſhare of the profit. They even inſinuated, that ſuch a ſtanding army was more calculated to make the king abſolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the ſecret friends of the late king did not fail to enforce theſe inſinuations. They renewed their animad-

animadverſions upon the diſagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reſerve, his ſullen ſilence, his imperious diſpoſition, and his baſe ingratitude, particularly to the earl of Marlborough, whom he had diſmiſſed from all his employments, immediately after the ſignal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The diſgrace of this nobleman was partly aſcribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his ſervices, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an aſcendency over the princeſs Anne of Denmark, and is ſaid to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealouſy between the two ſiſters. The malcontents of the whiggiſh faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raiſed againſt the government. They ſcrupled not to ſay, that the arts of corruption were ſhamefully practiſed, to ſecure a majority in parliament: that the king was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predeceſſors had ever been: and, that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, becauſe they were the known tools of arbitrary power. Theſe reflections alluded to the earls of Rocheſter and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-counſellors. Rocheſter entertained very high notions of regal authority; he propoſed ſeverity as one of the beſt ſupports of government; was clear in underſtanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts, and pleaſure, who poſſeſſed the moſt plauſible and winning addreſs; and was capable of tranſacting the moſt important and intricate affairs, in the midſt of riot and exceſs. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. enjoyed the office of pay-maſter in the army of king A. C. 1691.

A. C. 1691. king James; and maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the house, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the king's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a proselyte, and was brought into the treasury.

Transactions in parliament.

The commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds for the use of the ensuing year; but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the ill humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs that diverted the attention of the commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the house against the East-India company, charging them with manifold abuses; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East-India company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment; but divers petitions being presented against it, and the company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the house addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great impor-

tance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined; but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length, one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's-bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them according to his direction; but no such persons were found. Then the house declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent. A. C. 1691.

Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason.

A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason having been laid aside by the lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was, to secure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns. It provided, That the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the pannel, ten days before his trial: and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The lords, in their own behalf added a clause, enacting, That upon the trial of any peer or peeress, for treason or misprision

of

A.C. 1697. of treaſon, all the peers who have a right to ſit and vote in parliament, ſhould be duly ſummoned to aſſiſt at the trial: That this notice ſhould be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every peer ſo ſummoned, and appearing, ſhould vote upon the occaſion. The commons rejected this amendment: and a free conference enſued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both ſides, which ſerved only to inflame the diſpute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animoſity, the bill was dropped; for, the commons reſolved to bear the hardſhips of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchaſing a new privilege to the lords; and without this advantage the peers would not contribute to their relief.

The next object that engroſſed the attention of the lower houſe, was the miſcarriage of the fleet during the ſummer's expedition. Admiral Ruſſel, who commanded at ſea, having been joined by a Dutch ſquadron, ſailed in queſt of the enemy; but, as the French king had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined ſquadrons were ſuperior to his navy in number of ſhips and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with ſuch vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Ruſſel, who was moreover perplexed with obſcure and contradictory orders. Nevertheleſs, he cruiſed all ſummer either in the channel or in ſoundings, for the protection of the trade, and in particular ſecured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the Engliſh and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions ſterling. Having ſcoured the channel, and run along great part of the French coaſt, he returned to Torbay in the be-

beginning of Auguſt, and received freſh orders to put out to ſea again, notwithſtanding his repeated remonſtrances againſt expoſing large ſhips to the ſtorms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore ſailed back to ſoundings, where he continued cruiſing till the ſecond day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempeſt, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the ſound with great difficulty; the Coronation, a ſecond-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-Head; the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and periſhed; two others ran aſhore, but were got off with little damage; the whole fleet was ſcattered and diſtreſſed. The nation murmured at the ſuppoſed miſconduct of the admiral, and the commons ſubjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and inſtructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the proſecution, out of tenderneſs to the miniſtry. Then the houſe took into conſideration ſome letters which had been intercepted in a French ſhip taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of theſe are ſaid to have been written by king James, and the reſt ſealed with his ſeal. They related to the plan of an inſurrection in Scotland and in the northern parts of England; and Legg lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the deſign, warrants were immediately iſſued againſt them. Crew abſconded, but lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preſton was examined touching ſome cyphers which they could not explain, and pretending ignorance, was impriſoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he ſoon obtained his releaſe. The funds for the ſupplies of the enſuing year being eſtabliſhed, and A. C. 1691.

A. C. 1691. several acts * passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty ninth day of May, by proclamation †.

The king disobliges the presbyterians of Scotland,

The king had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the presbyterians in Scotland, and was so displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnson, who had been sent envoy to the elector of Brandenburgh, was recalled, and, with the master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland; Melvill, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy-seal of that kingdom; Tweedale was constituted lord chancellor; Crawfurd retained the office of president in the council; and Lothian

* The laws enacted in this session were these: an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer-stealing; an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devises; an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for ascertaining the tythes of hemp and flax.

† In the course of this session Dr. Wellwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the house of commons, for having reflected upon that house in a weekly paper intitled Mercurius Reformatus; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the house of commons by his fine talents and elocution. The privy-seal was committed to the earl of Pembroke: lord viscount Sidney was created lord lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Sommers appointed attorney-general; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the king, as a divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

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was appointed high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, becauſe it was not yet compliant enough to be aſſembled with ſafety; and the epiſcopal clergy were admitted to a ſhare of the church-government. Theſe meaſures, inſtead of healing the diviſions, ſerved only to inflame the animoſity of the two parties. The epiſcopalians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagoniſts with inſolence and ſcorn; the preſbyterians were incenſed to ſee their friends diſgraced, and their enemies diſtinguiſhed by the royal indulgence. They inſiſted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their ſide: they became more than ever ſour, ſurly, and implacable; they refuſed to concur with the prelatiſts, or abate in the leaſt circumſtance of diſcipline; and the aſſembly was diſſolved, without any time or place aſſigned for the next meeting. The preſbyterians pretended an independent right of aſſembling annually, even without a call from his majeſty; they therefore adjourned themſelves, after having proteſted againſt the diſſolution. The king reſented this meaſure as an inſolent invaſion of the prerogative, and conceived an averſion to the whole ſect, who in their turn began to looſe all reſpect for his perſon and government. A. C. 1691.

The earl of Braidalbin undertakes for the ſubmiſſion of the Highlanders.

As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the earl of Braidalbin undertook to bring them over, by diſtributing ſums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thouſand pounds were remitted from England for this purpoſe. The clans being informed of this remittance, ſuſpected that the earl's deſign was to appropriate to himſelf the beſt part of the money, and when he began to treat with them made ſuch extravagant demands, that he found his ſcheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the ſum he had re-

A. C. 1691. ceived; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation was Macdonald of Glencoe; and his opposition arose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Braidalbin during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the end of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by colonel Hill governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir Colin Campbell sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations

tions in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had ſo ſolemnly ſubmitted. A. C. 1691.

Braidalbin had repreſented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, and a ruffian inured to bloodſhed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any ſovereign. He obſerved that he had payed no regard to the proclamation; and propoſed that the government ſhould ſacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was ſupported by the ſuggeſtions of the other Scottiſh miniſters; and the king, whoſe chief virtue was not humanity, ſigned a warrant for the deſtruction of thoſe unhappy people, tho' it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's ſubmiſſion. An order for this barbarous execution, ſigned and counter-ſigned by his majeſty's own hand, being tranſmitted to the maſter of Stair, ſecretary for Scotland, he ſent particular directions to Livingſtone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the ſword, charging him to take no priſoners, that the ſcene might be more terrible. In the month of February captain Campbell of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncanſon, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of ſoldiers belonging to Argyle's Highland regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he anſwered as friends, and promiſed upon his honour that neither he nor his people ſhould ſuſtain the leaſt injury. In conſequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the moſt cordial hoſpitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip. At length the fatal Maſſacre of Glencoe.

A. C. 1691. period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having paſſed the day together, parted about ſeven in the evening, with mutual profeſſions of the warmeſt affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and communicated his ſuſpicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the leaſt doubt of Campbell's ſincerity; nevertheleſs, the two young men went forth privately to make further obſervations. They overheard the common ſoldiers ſay they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it baſe to murder them in cool blood; but that their officers were anſwerable for the treachery. When the youths haſted back to appriſe their father of the impending danger, they ſaw the houſe already ſurrounded; they heard the diſcharge of muſkets, the ſhrieks of women and children, and, being deſtitute of arms, ſecured their own lives by immediate flight. The ſavage miniſters of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and ſhot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, diſtracted by the horror of her huſband's fate. The laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's gueſt, who had three months before this period ſubmitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without queſtion; a boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to ſerve him for life, was ſtabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a ſubaltern officer. Eight and thirty perſons ſuffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were ſurpriſed in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The deſign was to butcher all the males under ſeventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred: but ſome of the detachments did not arrive ſoon enough to ſecure the paſſes;

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so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of king William's authority, though it answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders, excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations; and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary; he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but, as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the Highlanders,

A. C. 1691.

Burnet. Story. Kennet. Life of king William. Nav. hist. Ralph. Voltaire.

A. C. 1692. landers, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

Preparations for a descent upon England.

A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the states-general with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released; and the papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germains, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that king James would certainly land in the spring; and that colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the king's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Lewis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them, that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy;

convoy; he therefore exhorted them to be ſpeedy and ſecret in their preparations, that they might be in readineſs to take arms and co-operate in effecting his reſtoration. This officer, and one Johnſon, a prieſt, are ſaid to have undertaken the aſſaſſination of king William; but, before they could execute their deſign, he ſet ſail for Holland. A. C. 1692.

Mean while, James addreſſed a letter to ſeveral lords, who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and diſtinction, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witneſſes at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had ſuſtained, from the cruel aſperſions of his enemies concerning the birth of his ſon; and as providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of thoſe who affirmed that the queen was incapable of child-bearing, he aſſured them, in the name of his brother the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they ſhould have free leave to viſit his court, and return after the labour †. This invitation, however, no perſon would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emiſſaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furniſhed with a number of troops ſufficient to untie the hands of his ſubjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their ſhare in the glory of reſtoring their lawful king and their Declaration of king James.

† The letter was directed not only to privy counſellors, but alſo to the dutcheſſes of Somerſet and Beaufort, the marchioneſs of Halifax, the counteſſes of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Frecheville, thoſe of Sir John Trevor ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford lord mayor of London, Sir William Aſhurſt and Sir Richard Levett the ſheriffs; and laſtly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

ancient

A. C. 1692 ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his ſtandard. He aſſured them that the foreign auxiliaries ſhould behave with the moſt regular diſcipline, and be ſent back immediately after his re-eſtabliſhment. He obſerved, that when ſuch a number of his ſubjects were ſo infatuated, as to concur with the unnatural deſign of the prince of Orange, he had choſe to rely upon the fidelity of his Engliſh army, and refuſed conſiderable ſuccours that were offered to him by his moſt chriſtian majeſty; that when he was ready to oppoſe force with force, he nevertheleſs offered to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction to his ſubjects who had been miſled, and endeavoured to open their eyes with reſpect to the vain pretences of his adverſary, whoſe aim was not the reformation but the ſubverſion of the government: that when he ſaw himſelf deſerted by his army, betrayed by his miniſters, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at laſt rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of inſolent foreigners; he had, for his perſonal ſafety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the malice and cruel deſigns of the uſurper had been conſtrued into an abdication, and the whole conſtitution of the monarchy deſtroyed by a ſet of men illegally aſſembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meaneſt ſubject. He expreſſed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and from the loſſes and enormous expence of the three laſt years, were convinced that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe; that the beginning, like the firſt years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildeſt part of the uſurpation, and the inſtruments of the new eſtabliſhment live to ſuffer ſeverely by the tyranny they had raiſed; that even, though the uſurpation ſhould continue during his life, an indiſputable title

title would survive in his iſſue, and expoſe the kingdom to all the miſeries of a civil war. He not only ſollicited but commanded his good ſubjects to join him, according to their duty and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the uſurper. He promiſed pardon and even rewards to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty, and to procure in his firſt parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain perſons † whom he now enumerated. He declared, that all ſoldiers who ſhould quit the ſervice of the uſurper, and enliſt under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops upon laying down their arms, ſhould be payed and tranſported to their reſpective countries. He ſolemnly proteſted that he would protect and maintain the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, in all her rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions: he ſignified his reſolution to uſe his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the ſpirit of the chriſtian religion, and conducive to the wealth and proſperity of the nation. He ſaid his principal care ſhould be to heal the wounds of the late diſtractions; to reſtore trade, by obſerving the act of navigation, which had lately been ſo much violated in favour of ſtrangers; to put the A. C. 1692.

† Thoſe excepted were the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the biſhops of London and St. Aſaph, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimſtone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Baſil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotſon, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruſſel, Richard Leviſon, John Trenchard, Cha les Duncomb, citizen of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fiſhermen, and all others who had offered perſonal indignities to him at Feverſham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Aſhton, Croſs, or any others who had ſuffered death for their loyalty; and all ſpies or ſuch as had betraved his councils, during his late abſence from England.

navy

A.C. 1692. navy in a flouriſhing condition; and to take every ſtep that might contribute to the greatneſs of the monarchy and the happineſs of the people. He concluded with profeſſions of reſignation to the divine will, declaring, that all who ſhould reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms againſt him, would be anſwerable to Almighty God for all the blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and all the miſeries in which theſe kingdoms might be involved, by their deſperate and unreaſonable oppoſition.

Efforts of his friends in England.

While this declaration operated variouſly on the minds of the people, colonel Parker, with ſome other officers, enliſted men privately for the ſervice of James, in the counties of York, Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham; and, at the ſame time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raiſing two regiments of horſe at London, that they might join their maſter immediately after his landing. His partiſans ſent Captain Loyd with an expreſs to the lord Melfort, containing a detail of theſe particulars, with an aſſurance that they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to the intereſt of his majeſty. They likewiſe tranſmitted a liſt of the ſhips that compoſed the Engliſh fleet; and exhorted James to uſe his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they ſhould be joined by the Dutch ſquadron. It was in conſequence of this advice, that Lewis commanded Tourville to fall upon the Engliſh fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon ſquadron, commanded by the marquis D'Etrees. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, conſiſting of a body of French troops, together with ſome Engliſh and Scottiſh refugees, and the regiments which had been tranſported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

The miniſtry of England was informed of all theſe particulars, partly by ſome agents of James, who betrayed his cauſe, and partly by admiral Carter, who gave the queen to underſtand he had been tampered with; and was inſtructed to amuſe the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no ſooner arrived in Holland, than he haſtened the naval preparations of the Dutch, ſo as that their fleet was ready for ſea ſooner than it was expected; and when he received the firſt intimation of the projected deſcent, he detached general Tollemache with three of the Engliſh regiments from Holland. Theſe, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portſmouth. The queen iſſued a proclamation, commanding all papiſts to depart from London and Weſtminſter: the members of both houſes of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that ſhe might avail herſelf of their advice in ſuch a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers diſaffected perſons; and they withdrawing themſelves from their reſpective places of abode, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſcovering and bringing them to juſtice. The earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, and Newburgh, the lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the ſearch. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were ſent to the Tower; Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Haſtings, and Robert Ferguſon were impriſoned in Newgate. The biſhop of Rocheſter was confined to his own houſe: the lords Brudenell and Fanſhaw were ſecured: the earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forreſter, were diſcovered in a quaker's houſe, and committed to priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. The trained bands of London and Weſtminſter were

A. C. 1692. Precautions taken by the queen for the defence of the nation.

A. C. 1692. were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person; admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruize along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy.

Admiral Russel puts to sea.

On the eleventh day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteen day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Lewis indeed was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by

two

two ſeveral veſſels; but, one of them was taken by the Engliſh, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement. A. C. 1692.

He obtains a compleat victory over the French fleet off La Hogue.

Tourville therefore, in obedience to the firſt mandate, bore down along ſide of Ruſſel's own ſhip, which he engaged at a very ſmall diſtance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and ſails being conſiderably damaged, his ſhip, the Riſing-Sun, that carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great diſorder. Nevertheleſs, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were deſcried flying to the northward; and Ruſſel made the ſignal for chaſing. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himſelf in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ſhip could ſwim; and expired with great compoſure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having loſt four ſhips in this day's action. Next day about eight in the morning, they were diſcovered crowding away to the weſtward, and the combined fleets chaſed with all the ſails they could carry, until Ruſſel's foretop-maſt came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, they ſtill continued the purſuit, and he anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-ſecond of the month, about ſeven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, ſome at anchor, and ſome driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood. He, and the ſhips neareſt him, immediately ſlipt their cables and chaſed. The Riſing-Sun having loſt her maſts, ran aſhore near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another firſt-rate, and

A.C. 1692. and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports loaded with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories; and reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians alledge, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained before the enemy recovered of their consternation. They say, his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend the earl of Marlborough: that he hated the earl of Nottingham, by whose canal he received his orders: and, that he adhered to the letter rather than the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; he destroyed about fifteen

fifteen of the enemy's capital ships; in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English. A. C. 1692.

Russel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but, his principal motive was to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors; medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board of transports, to be landed at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their passage from St. Maloe's to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports; but, in a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a descent upon France.

A.C. 1692.

The design laid aside. The troops landed at Ostend.

The queen immediately dispatched the marquis of Carmaerthen, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was therefore laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained, that they were plundered and abused; that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: that by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated: that their burdens would daily increase: that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connections, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had grievously suffered by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French king having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in presence of the archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other persons of distinction.

Lewis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate

nate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, attended by his women and parasites, his band of music, his dancers, his opera, and in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege, under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that king William would make strong efforts for its relief: so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened, the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William being joined by the troops of Brandenburgh and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that the king of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The

A. C. 1692. The French king takes Namur in sight of king William.

A. C. 1692. citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered-ways were taken by assault; and on the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Lewis having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

The allies are defeated at Steenkirk.

Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bussiere, and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The king of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkirk and Enghien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose; but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lambeque, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and the disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoix, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing, that he needed not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-

twenty-fourth day of July, the army began to move A. C. 1692.
from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch infantry; and he was ſupported by a conſiderable body of Britiſh horſe and foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Mackay. Tho' the ground was interſected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with ſuch diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were driven from their poſts, and their whole camp became a ſcene of tumult and confuſion. Luxembourg truſting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed; and it required the full exertion of his ſuperior talents, to remedy the conſequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a ſevere indiſpoſition under which he happened to labour; he rallied his broken battalions; he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in perſon. The duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the firſt quality, put themſelves at the head of the houſhold troops, and fell with great fury upon the Engliſh, who were very ill ſupported by count Solmes, who commanded the center of the allies. The prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he ſent an aid-de-camp twice to demand ſuccours from Solmes, who derided his diſtreſs, ſaying, "Let us ſee what ſport theſe Eng-
"liſh bull-dogs will make." At length, when the king ſent an expreſs order, commanding him

A.C. 1692. to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the earl of Angus, general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, a like number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory.

The French reaped no solid advantage from their victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, Tilladet, and Fermaçon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation.

clamation. All the ornaments of the faſhion peculiar to both ſexes, adopted the name of Steenkirk; every individual who had been perſonally engaged in the action, was revered as being of a ſuperior ſpecies; and the tranſports of the women roſe almoſt to a degree of frenzy. A. C. 1692.

Conſpiracy againſt the life of king William, hatched by the French miniſtry.

The French miniſtry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge againſt king William. They likewiſe employed aſſaſſins to deprive him of life, in the moſt treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his ſon the marquis de Barbeſieux, who ſucceeded him in his office of ſecretary, found among his papers the draught of a ſcheme for this purpoſe; and immediately revived the deſign by means of the chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the ſervice. He and colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to aſſaſſinate king William. Madame de Maintenon and Paparel, paymaſter to the French army, were privy to the ſcheme, which they encouraged; and the conſpirators are ſaid to have obtained an audience of king James, who approved of their undertaking, and aſſured them of his protection; but, that unfortunate monarch was unjuſtly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to ſeize the perſon of the prince of Orange. Dumont actually inliſted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to ſhoot the king of England when he ſhould ride out to viſit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourgh to furniſh them with a party of horſe for the riſcue of Dumont, after the blow ſhould be ſtruck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he deſired, after having reſided ſome weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but ſtill correſponded with

A. C. 1692. Grandval and Barbeſieux. This laſt admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the ſecret, and likewiſe imparted it to monſieur Chanlais, quarter-maſter-general of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promiſe of a conſiderable reward; and promiſed to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for he ſtill perſiſted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been ſent from Holland on purpoſe to dive to the bottom of this conſpiracy, in conſequence of advice given by the Britiſh envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped ſome hints that alarmed his ſuſpicion. The Dutchman not only inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the conſpirators, but likewiſe inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Underſtanding that Dumont had already diſcovered the deſign to the duke of Zell, and that he himſelf had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confeſſed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

Miſcarriage of a deſign upon Dunkirk.

About this period the duke of Leinſter arrived at Oſtend with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furniſhed with cannon ſent down the Meuſe from Maeſtricht; he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of general Tollemache. He took poſſeſſion of Furnes, was joined by the earl of Portland and Mr. D'Auverquerque, and a diſpoſition was made for inveſting Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprize was thought very dangerous, and therefore layed aſide. Furnes and Dixmuyde lately reduced by brigadier Ramſay, were ſtrengthened with new works, and ſecured with ſtrong garriſons. The cannon were ſent back, and the troops returning to Oſtend, reimbarked for England. This fruitleſs expedition, added to the inglorious iſſue of the campaign, increaſed

increaſed the ill humour of the Britiſh nation. A. C. 1692.
They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thouſand men, while Luxembourg was poſted at Courtray with half that number. They ſaid, if he had found the French lines too ſtrong to be forced, he might have paſſed the Scheld higher up, and not only layed the enemy's conqueſts under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the ſums expended in maintaining their garriſons. On the twenty-ſixth day of September, king William left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his houſe at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horſe to Gaure. On the ſixteenth day of October the king receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had inveſted Charleroy, and Luxembourgh taken poſt in the neighbourhood of Conde, ordered the troops to be inſtantly reaſſembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with deſign to raiſe the ſiege; and repaired to Bruſſels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper meaſures were concerted. Then he returned to Holland, leaving the command with the elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the ſiege, and moved towards Philipville. The elector having reinforced the place, and thrown ſupplies into Aeth, diſtributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Conde, Leuze, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his abſence.

The allies had been unſucceſsful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel undertook the ſiege of

A. C. 1692. of Eberemburg, which however he was obliged to abandon. The duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, ſurpriſed, defeated, and took the duke of Wirtemberg, who had poſted himſelf with four thouſand horſe near Eidelſheim to check the progreſs of the enemy. Count Tallard, having inveſted Rhineſeld, the landgrave marched to its relief with ſuch expedition, that the French were obliged to deſiſt, and retreat with conſiderable damage. The elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field; but, he complained that the emperor left the burden of the war with France upon the princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealouſy and miſunderſtanding enſued; Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was ſeized by the emperor's order, on ſuſpicion of having maintained a private correſpondence with the enemy; and very warm expoſtulations on this ſubject paſſed between the courts of Vienna and Dreſden. Schoening was detained two years in cuſtody; and at length releaſed, on condition that he ſhould never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The miniſtry of the Ottoman Porte was diſtracted by factions, and the ſeraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unſucceſsful war: the vizir was depoſed; and in the midſt of this confuſion, the garriſon of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialiſts during the whole winter, ſurrendered by capitulation. Lord Paget, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Vienna, was ſent to Conſtantinople with powers to mediate a peace; but the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the porte: the Turkiſh army lay upon the defenſive, and the ſeaſon was ſpent in a fruitleſs negotiation.

The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary.

The

The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the duke of Savoy. Mr. Chanlais was sent to Turin with advantageous proposals, which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself intitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphine, where he plundered a number of village, and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation, and laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of king William, inviting the people to join his standard; assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the nobleſſe to their ancient splendor, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guarantied by the kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence; and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lions, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite defenceless: but this

A. C. 1692.

The duke of Savoy invades Dauphine.

was

A.C. 1692. was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissention, which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the duke of Savoy, who was seized with the small pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, to his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated *. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

The duke of Hanover created an elector of the empire.

The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connections with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the king of England, whom he durst not disoblige. He was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He therefore employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed

* At this period, queen Mary, understanding that the protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many schoolmasters, in the vallies of Piedmont.

him

him from motives of jealouſy; and the French king uſed all his artifices and influence to prevent the elevation of the houſe of Hanover. When the duke had ſurmounted all this oppoſition, ſo far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were ſtarted. The emperor ſuggeſted that another popiſh electorate ſhould be created, to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he propoſed that Auſtria ſhould be raiſed to the ſame dignity: but violent oppoſition was made to this expedient, which would have veſted the emperor with a double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negotiation, the duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the inveſtiture as elector of Brunſwick; created great marſhal of the empire, and did homage to the emperor: nevertheleſs, he was not yet admitted into the college, becauſe he had not been able to procure the unanimous conſent of all the electors †. A. C. 1692.

While king William ſeemed wholly engroſſed by the affairs of the continent, England was diſtracted by domeſtic diſſenſion, and overſpread with vice, corruption, and profanity. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a ſet of malcontents, whoſe number daily increaſed. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but compoſed and publiſhed elaborate diſſertations upon the ſame ſubject. Theſe made ſuch impreſſions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burdens, diſtreſſed in their trade, and diſappointed in their ſanguine

False information againſt the earl of Marlborough, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and others.

† In the beginning of September, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port-royal in Jamaica was almoſt totally ruined by an earthquake: the place was ſo ſuddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred perſons periſhed.

A. C. 1692. expectations, that the queen thought it neceſſary to check the progreſs of thoſe writers, by iſſuing out a proclamation offering a reward to ſuch as would diſcover ſeditious libellers. The earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a priſoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's handwriting, and contrived the ſcheme of an aſſociation in favour of king James, to which he affixed the names of the earls of Marlborough and Saliſbury, Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord Cornbury, and Sir Baſil Firebrace. One of his emiſſaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the biſhop's houſe at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the king's meſſengers, who ſecured the prelate in conſequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole council, and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confeſſion of his accomplice. The biſhop obtained his releaſe immediately, and the earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of king's bench.

Sources of national diſcontent.

So many perſons of character and diſtinction had been impriſoned during this reign, upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, that the diſcontented part of the nation had ſome reaſon to inſinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas Corpus act was either inſufficient to protect the ſubject from falſe impriſonment, or had been ſhamefully miſuſed. They expatiated upon the loſs of ſhips, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the conſumption of ſeamen; the neglect of the fiſheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was ſupplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treaſure exhauſted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops

to

to fight foreign quarrels; the ſlaughter of the beſt and braveſt of their countrymen, whoſe blood had been laviſhly ſpilt in ſupport of connections with which they ought to have no concern. They demonſtrated the miſchiefs that neceſſarily aroſe from the unſettled ſtate of the nation. They obſerved that the government could not be duly eſtabliſhed, until a ſolemn declaration ſhould confirm the legalty of that tenure by which their majeſties poſſeſſed the throne; that the ſtructure of parliaments was deficient in point of ſolidity, as they exiſted intirely at the pleaſure of the crown, which would uſe them no longer than they ſhould be found neceſſary in raiſing ſupplies for the uſe of the government. They exclaimed againſt the practice of quartering ſoldiers in private houſes, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the ſubſequent act paſſed in the reign of the ſecond Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by preſſing tranſport ſhips into the ſervice, without ſettling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burthenſome and uſeleſs; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and ſupplied the enemy with neceſſaries, while the Engliſh laboured under the ſevereſt prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of thoſe very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the miniſtry's want of conduct, foreſight, and intelligence, and inveighed againſt their ignorance, inſolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a deſign of reducing it to the loweſt ebb of diſgrace and deſtruction. By this time indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overſpread with immorality and corruption; towards the increaſe of which many concurring A. C. 1692.

A. C. 1692. ring circumſtances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the diſcontented revolutioners; and theſe factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expoſe, and to ridicule the meaſures and principles of each other: ſo that patriotiſm was laughed out of doors, as an hypocrital pretence. This contention eſtabliſhed a belief, that every man conſulted his own private intereſt at the expence of the public: a belief that ſoon grew into a maxim almoſt univerſally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the loweſt borough-elector. The expedient of eſtabliſhing funds of credit for raiſing ſupplies to defray the expence of government, threw large premiums and ſums of money in the hands of low, ſordid uſurers, brokers, and jobbers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of the Monied-intereſt. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their ſuperiors; but, being deſtitute of ſentiment and taſte, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the moſt abſurd and illiberal extravagancies. They laid aſide all decorum; became lewd, inſolent, intemperate and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency was gradually baniſhed; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

Diſſenſion between the queen and the princeſs Anne of Denmark.

King William having aſcertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the enſuing campaign with the States-general, and the miniſters of the allies, ſet ſail for England on the fifteenth day of October, on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and paſſed through the city of London to

to Kenſington, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory addreſs from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thankſgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at ſea. The luteſtring company was eſtabliſhed by patent, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November. The houſe of lords was deeply infected with diſcontent, which in ſome meaſure proceeded from the diſſention between the queen and her ſiſter the princeſs of Denmark, who underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been payed to her rank by the magiſtrates of Bath, where ſhe ſometimes reſided, and even by the miniſters of the church where ſhe attended at divine ſervice, were diſcontinued, by the expreſs order of her majeſty. Her cauſe was naturally eſpouſed by thoſe noblemen who had adhered to her in her former conteſt with the king, about an independent ſettlement; and theſe were now reinforced by all the friends of the earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for, they reſented the diſgrace and confinement of that lord; and thought it their duty to ſupport the princeſs Anne under a perſecution incurred by an attachment to his counteſs. The earl of Shrewſbury lived in friendſhip with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the king; the marquis of Hallifax befriended him, from oppoſition to the miniſtry; the earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to diſplay his talents, and acquire that conſideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonſhire, Montague, and Bradford joined in the ſame cauſe, from principle; and the ſame pretence was uſed by the earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though in effect they were actuated by jealouſy and reſent- A. C. 1692.

A C. 1692. ment againſt thoſe by whom they had been ſupplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their aſſiſtance to promote any ſcheme that had a tendency to embroil the adminiſtration.

The houſe of lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their impriſoned members.

The king, in his ſpeech to parliament, thanked them for their laſt ſupplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at ſea, condoled them on the bad ſucceſs of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, repreſented the neceſſity of maintaining a great force to oppoſe it; and demanded ſubſidies equal to the occaſion. He expreſſed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens, which, he ſaid, could not be avoided without expoſing his kingdom to inevitable deſtruction. He deſired their advice towards leſſening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make them a happy people; and that he would again chearfully expoſe his life for the welfare of the nation. The lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to aſſert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the caſes of the earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to priſon, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of king's-bench. Theſe circumſtances being fully diſcuſſed in a violent debate, the houſe ordered lord Lucas conſtable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the king's-bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court-ſolicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to priſon. At the ſame time, the whole affair was referred to a committee, impowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined touching

touching the evidence againſt the committed lords. A. C. 1692.
The committee reported their general reſolution, which produced a vehement diſpute. The opinion of the judges was unſatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole houſe, in which it was reſolved, and declared, as the ſenſe of that aſſembly, that in purſuance of the Habeas-corpus act, it was the duty of the judges and goal-delivery, to diſcharge the priſoner on bail, if committed for high-treaſon, unleſs it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witneſſes againſt the ſaid priſoner, who cannot be produced in that term, ſeſſions, or general goal-delivery. They likewiſe reſolved, it was the intention of the ſaid ſtatute, that in caſe there ſhould be more than one priſoner to be bailed or remanded, there muſt be oath made, that there are two witneſſes againſt each priſoner, otherwiſe he cannot be remanded to priſon. Theſe reſolutions were entered in the books, as ſtanding directions to all future judges, yet not without great oppoſition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the impriſoned lords ſhould be ſet at liberty. The conteſt became ſo warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and propoſed an expedient, which was put in practice. The houſe adjourned to the ſeventeenth day of the month, and its next meeting was given to underſtand, that the king had diſcharged the impriſoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, That the houſe being informed of his majeſty's having given directions for diſcharging the lords under bail in the king's bench, the debate about that matter ceaſed. The reſentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration.

A. C. 1692. The commons having voted an addreſs of thanks, and another, praying that his majeſty's foreign alliances ſhould be layed before them, voted a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon. They paſſed a vote of thanks to admiral Ruſſel, his officers and ſeamen, for the victory they had obtained; then proceeded to an inquiry, Why that victory had not been purſued? Why the deſcent had not been made? And why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruiſers? The admiral having juſtified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been ſent to the admiral: they ordered Ruſſel to lay before them his anſwers; and the commiſſioners of the tranſports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they preſented addreſſes to the king and queen, acknowledging the favour of God in reſtoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the ſnares of his open and ſecret enemies; and aſſuring him they would, according to his majeſty's deſire in his moſt gracious ſpeech, be always ready to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the ſupport of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent adminiſtration during his majeſty's abſence: they congratulated her on their ſignal deliverance from a bold and cruel deſign formed for their deſtruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they aſſured her that the grateful ſenſe they had of their happineſs under her government, ſhould always be manifeſted in conſtant returns of duty and obedience.

The commons preſent addreſſes to the king and queen.

They acquit admiral Ruſſel, and reſolve to adviſe his majeſty. After this formal compliment, the houſe, inſtead of proceeding to the ſupplies, inſiſted upon peruſing the treaties, public accounts, and eſtimates, that they might be in a condition to adviſe,

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as well as to assist his majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals; and particularly reflected upon the insolence of count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkirk. After some warm altercation, the house resolved one article of their advice should be, That his majesty would be pleased to fill up such vacancies as should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions; and that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the house should advise his majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet-councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy-council was justled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vitious principles of the ministry: they observed, that he who opposed the establishment, could not be expected to support it with zeal. The earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name; and the house resolved that his majesty should be advised, to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the commons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring that A. C. 1692.

A. C. 1692. twenty days elapſed between his firſt letter to that nobleman and his lordſhip's anſwer. The earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the houſe, eſpouſed his cauſe with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Ruſſel; ſo that a very violent debate enſued. Both parties agreed that there had been miſmanagement in the ſcheme of a deſcent. It was moved, that one cauſe of the miſcarriage was the want of giving timely and neceſſary orders, by thoſe to whom the management of the affair was committed. The houſe divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next ſitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple propoſed they ſhould conſider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of Engliſh manufactures, without exporting money. They reſolved that the houſe ſhould be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into conſideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair; and the ſpeaker reſumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was diſſolved. The houſe, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its ſitting; but, before it could reſume its deliberations, admiral Ruſſel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purpoſes were defeated.

They comply with all the demands of the miniſtry

The court-agents had by this time interpoſed, and ſecured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The commons no longer inſiſted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of aſſiſtance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three and thirty thouſand ſeamen, the building of ſome additional ſhips of war, and the finiſhing of Plymouth-dock; and ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to ſupply the deficiency of the quarterly

terly poll. The eſtimates of the land-ſervice were A. C. 1692.
not diſcuſſed without tedious debates, and warm diſputes. The miniſtry demanded fifty-four thouſand men, twenty thouſand of whom ſhould be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the reſt ſhould ſerve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their averſion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and ſo little proſpect of ſucceſs. Others agreed, that the allies ſhould be aſſiſted on the continent with a proportion of Britiſh forces; but that the nation ſhould act as auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would chearfully contribute to the general expence. Theſe reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Miniſterial influence had ſurmounted all oppoſition. The houſe voted the number of men demanded. Such was their ſervile complaiſance, that when they examined the treaties by which the Engliſh and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithſtanding theſe treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant inſtance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were ſo much altered, that, inſtead of proſecuting their reſentment againſt foreign generals, they aſſented to a motion that the prince of Wirtemberg, the major-generals Tetteau and La Foreſt, who commanded the Daniſh troops in the pay of the States-general, ſhould be indulged with ſuch an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the ſubſiſtence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the continent, in-

A. C. 1692. cluding subsidies to the electors of Saxony and Hanover.

The lords present an address of advice to the king.

The house of lords, mean while, was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed it was the province of their house to advise the sovereign: like the commons, they insisted upon the king's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved, that the task of digesting the articles of advice, should be undertaken by a joint committee of both houses: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the house agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his majesty, That the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman: That English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English general: That the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied; and such officers as were guilty of that practice should be cashiered and punished: And lastly, That no foreigners should sit at the board of ordnance. This address was presented to the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

Then the lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all

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the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to skreen Nottingham, and censure Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference, by the lord president and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, That they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Russel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, That admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both houses, in which the earl of Rochester told the commons, he was commanded by the house of lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the lower house, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their

A. C. 1692. Dispute between the lords and commons concerning admiral Russel.

A. C. 1692. their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the commons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

The commons address the king. They establish the land-tax and other impositions.

The lower house seemed to be as much exasperated against the earl of Nottingham as the lords were incensed at Russel. A motion was made, that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet, might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military officers in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution impowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it did not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East-India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East-India company, estimated at seven

seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's-bay company; and they impowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour *. A. C. 1692.

The money-bills were retarded in the upper house, by the arts of Hallifax, Mulgrave, and other malcontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared, that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the house of lords, the earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the house, that by yielding to this claim of the commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the lords relinquished their clause, declaring at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the house of commons against the pamphlet intitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, as containing assertions

Burnet's Pastoral letter burned by the hangman.

* The French king hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little cousin the prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle---but, no matter, the last Louis d'or must carry it.

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A. C. 1692. of dangerous conſequence to their majeſties, to the liberty of the ſubject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenſer and printer were taken into cuſtody. The book being examined, they reſolved that it ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king ſhould be moved to diſmiſs the licenſer from his employment. The ſame ſentence they pronounced upon a paſtoral letter of biſhop Burnet, in which this notion of conqueſt had been at firſt aſſerted. The lords, in order to manifeſt their ſentiments on the ſame ſubject, reſolved, That ſuch an aſſertion was highly injurious to their majeſties, inconſiſtent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the ſubverſion of the rights of the people. Bohun the licenſer was brought to the bar of the houſe, and diſcharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the ſpeaker.

Proceedings of the lower houſe againſt the practice of kidnapping men for the ſervice.

Several members having complained that their ſervants had been kidnapped, and ſent to ſerve as ſoldiers in Flanders, the houſe appointed a committee to enquire into the abuſes committed by preſsmaſters; and a ſuitable remonſtrance was preſented to the king, who expreſſed his indignation at this practice, and aſſured the houſe that the delinquents ſhould be brought to exemplary puniſhment. Underſtanding, however, in the ſequel, that the methods taken by his majeſty for preventing this abuſe had not proved effectual, they reſumed their enquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of perſons who had been preſſed, were diſcharged by order of the houſe; and captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the ſerjeant before the lord chief-juſtice, that he might be proſecuted according to law.

Before

Before the heats occaſioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the diſcontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where lord Sidney was ſaid to rule with deſpotic authority. Theſe complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewſter, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the houſe, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both houſes concurred in this inquiry, which being finiſhed, they ſeverally preſented addreſſes to the king. The lords obſerved, That there had been great abuſes in diſpoſing of the forfeited eſtates: That protections had been granted to the Iriſh not included in the articles of Limerick; ſo that proteſtants were deprived of the benefit of the law againſt them: That the quarters of the army had not been payed according to the proviſion made by parliament: That a mayor had been impoſed upon the city of Dublin for two years ſucceſſively, contrary to the antient privileges and charter: That ſeveral perſons accuſed of murder had been executed without proof; and one Sweetman, the moſt guilty, diſcharged without proſecution. The commons ſpoke more freely in their addreſs; they roundly explained the abuſes and miſmanagement of that government, by expoſing the proteſtant ſubjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Iriſh papiſts, who had been in open rebellion againſt his majeſty; by granting protections to Iriſh Roman catholics, whereby the courſe of the law was ſtopped; by reverſing outlawries for high-treaſon, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited eſtates at under-value, to the prejudice of his majeſty's revenue; by embezzling the ſtores left in the towns and garriſons by the late king James, as well as the effects belonging to forfeited

A. C. 1692.

The two houſes addreſs the king on the grievances of Ireland.

A. C. 1692. feited eſtates, which might have been employed for the better preſervation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was ſigned, and the place ſurrendered. They moſt humbly beſought his majeſty to redreſs theſe abuſes, which had greatly encouraged the papiſts, and weakened the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. The king graciouſly received both addreſſes, and promiſed to pay a particular regard to all remonſtrances that ſhould come from either houſe of parliament: but no material ſtep was taken againſt the lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningſby, who appeared to have engroſſed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown; and even commiſſioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the moſt grievous acts of oppreſſion, eſcaped with impunity.

The END of the Eighth VOLUME.